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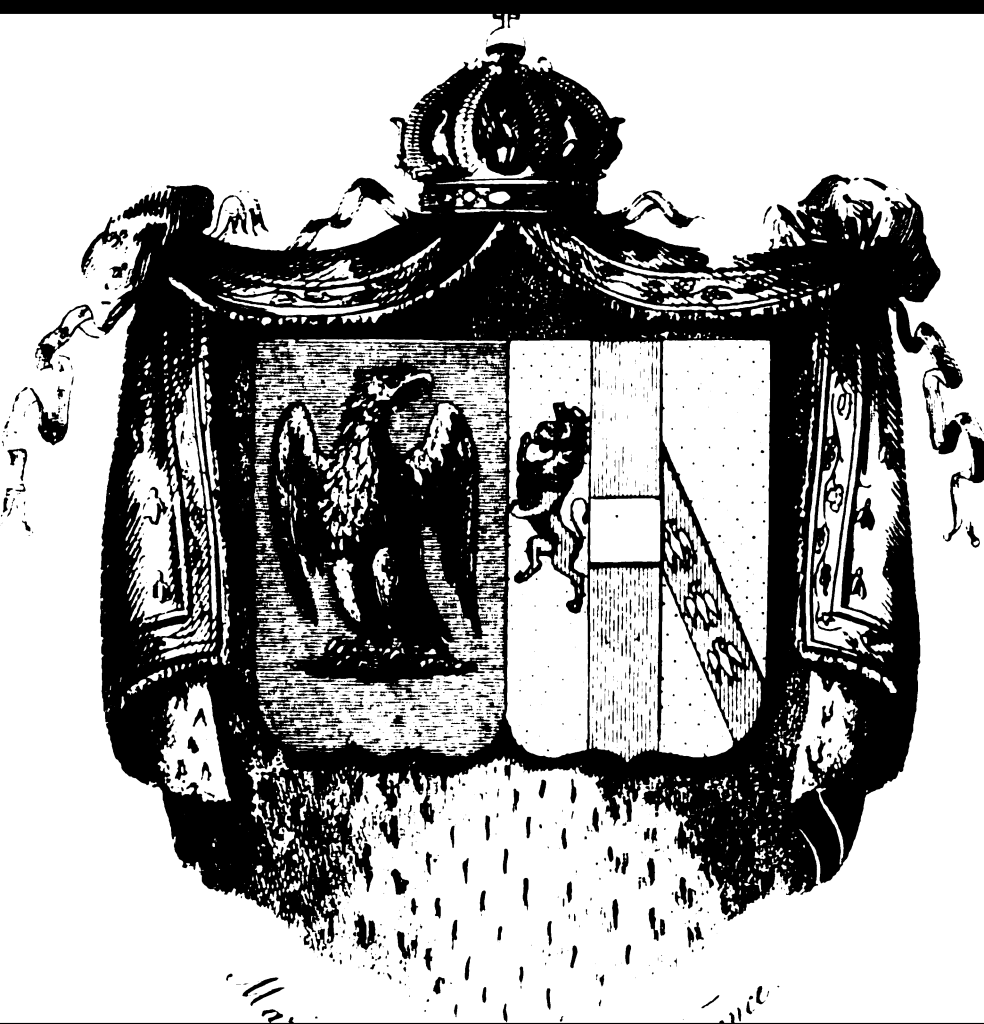
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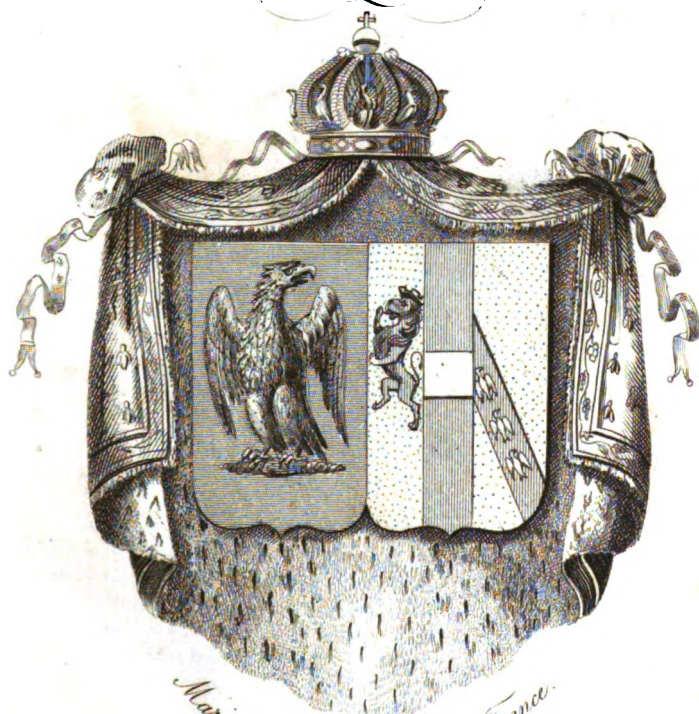








The  
**L I F E**  
 of  
**Napoleon Bonaparte**  
 by  
*W. B. Ireland Esq.*  
 MEMBER OF THE ATHENEUM OF SCIENCES & ARTS AT PARIS  
 (In four Volumes Vol. 11.)



*Maria Louisa, Empress of France.*  
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CHAP. I.

*Preparations for raising the Siege of Acre—Flag of Truce from Sir Sidney Smith—Proclamation of the Sublime Porte—Means to corrupt the French used by the English Commodore—Denon's Narrative continued—Desaix returns to Cairo to procure Reinforcements—Convents in the Vicinity of Benesuef—Encroachments of the Sands of the Desert—Canal Jusef and other great Works—Conjectures respecting the Lake Mæris—Fertility of the Province of Faium—Pyramid of Hilahun—Return of Desaix; and his March resumed—An Arab Thief—Benesech and other Villages—Grand Portico of Hermopolis—Vermin infesting Egyptian Dwellings—Town of Beneadi and Character of its Inhabitants—BONAPARTE'S Proclamation to his Army—His Ideas respecting the Capture of Acre—Retreat of the French Army from before that Place—BONAPARTE'S Humanity to his Troops—Arrival of the Army at Jaffa—Ample Refutation of the alleged poisoning of his Soldiers—Disposition of the Army, its March to Gaza—Kan-Jouness, El-Arish, and Cathieh—Official Letter of Sir Sidney Smith—Arrival of the French Army at Cairo—BONAPARTE'S*

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B

*NAPARTE'S Estimation of the Mamelukes—His Chinese Dwarf, and first Ideas of Grandeur—Loss sustained by the French during the Syrian Expedition—BONAPARTE'S Supposition respecting the Plague—Desgenettes, Chief Physician of the Army—Baron Larrey's extraordinary Statement respecting the Recovery of the sick—Heroism of the Army, and humane Conduct of the Medical Staff.*

THE Syrian expedition approximated to its close; the army had traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia with the rapidity of a native force, and, overpowering every thing that opposed its progress, had gained possession of the several fortified posts which commanded the wells and fountains in the desert. It had disconcerted the plans of the enemy, by the boldness and rapidity of its operations. It had dispersed, in the plains of Esdron and the district of Mount Thabor, a force of not less than twenty-five thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, hastily collected from different parts of Asia, in the hope of participating in the plunder of Egypt, and had obliged the force which was proceeding, in thirty ships, to attack the principal ports of Egypt, to alter its destination, and hasten to the relief of St. John d'Acre.

To consider this point farther, BONAPARTE had, with a force of about ten thousand men, carried into and maintained the war in the very heart of Syria, during three months; he had destroyed the most formidable of the armies destined for the invasion of Egypt, captured its field equipage and artillery, its camels, and one of its principal generals. He had killed or made prisoners more than seven thousand men, taken forty field-pieces, and more than one hundred stand of colours, and subdued the fortresses of Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa. The fortress of Acre did not appear inclined to surrender; but he had already attained the principal advantages which he could hope from the continuance of the siege. A few

days' perseverance might have enabled him to take the Pacha in his palace. But BONAPARTE was not to be affected by the vain glory of such an exploit; the period which he had destined for the Syrian expedition was approaching; besides, the season proper for effecting descents on the coast of Egypt was drawing near, a consideration that rendered his presence with the army essentially necessary in that quarter, in order to repel the attempts of the enemy. The plague was also making an alarming progress in Syria; seven hundred of the French troops had already fallen victims to the contagion, and, according to accounts received by way of Tyre, more than sixty men died daily in the fortress of Acre of this distemper. Under such circumstances, could the capture of that place compensate for the loss of time so precious as that of BONAPARTE, or for the sacrifice of such a number of gallant soldiers as must necessarily perish, and who were so essentially required for operations of greater magnitude.

All military men, who have carried on sieges against the Turks, well know that they fight, not only to the last man, but even hazard the lives of their women and children in defence of the mere heap of stones that remains. They never capitulate, or place any reliance on the good faith of an enemy; because, in similar circumstances, they entertain no idea but that of sacrificing their adversaries. The siege of Acre might possibly last some time longer, and continue to prove bloody and desperate; every consideration recalled BONAPARTE into Egypt: he could not, without compromising the fate of his army and his conquests, protract his stay in Syria. The advantages and the glory of the expedition did not depend on the fall of the castle of Acre. Combined and powerful considerations determined the General to raise the siege; several days would be necessary for the removal of the sick and wounded. During that interval, therefore, he ordered that all the batteries, cannon, and mortars, should



be directed against the palace of Dgezzar, and that the remainder of the siege ammunition should be expended in demolishing that structure, together with the fortifications and other public buildings.

On the 15th of May, at break of day, the French observed the English commodore set sail, in company with three Turkish ships: it appeared, that just before he had received the intelligence of the capture of two of his avisos and two Turkish ships; he was, in consequence, alarmed respecting a convoy of dgerms, and two Turkish avisos that had been despatched to the port of Abouza-bourra, to take on board a number of Naplouzians, whom Dgezzar supposed had again risen in his behalf. It appeared that Contre-Admiral Perée was actually in chase of the flotilla, but it was rescued by the English; when the French frigates stood out to sea, the enemy did not pursue them, but immediately returned to their former station before Acre. The 16th, at half past two in the morning, the Turks made a sortie from the fortress, but they were warmly received, and driven back with loss. At seven o'clock they made a second sortie with a greater force, and attacked all the advanced posts, but every where they met the same reception as in the preceding instance; they were unable to form a single trench, as the batteries played upon them with grape-shot, and they were finally driven back with the bayonet into their outer-works, which, as well as the intermediate ground, were strewed with their dead. This brilliant affair did not cost the French more than twenty killed, and about fifty wounded.

On the 17th an English flag of truce was seen advancing towards the shore; the bearer was accompanied by the Turk who had been sent with a flag of truce to Dgezzar on the 11th: the former brought a letter to the *chef de l'état major*, from the English commodore, who, speaking of BONAPARTE, thus expressed himself:—  
“ Does he not know that it rests with *me alone* to dis-

pose of the ground which lies under my artillery?" He stated that Dgezzar could send no answer without his concurrence and participation, and that it was to him all propositions were to be addressed. The officer who commanded the English boat also delivered a packet, containing proclamations of the Ottoman Porte, certified by the signature "SIDNEY SMITH:" they were conceived in the following terms:—

### PROCLAMATION.

*"The Minister of the Sublime Porte,  
"To the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French  
Army in Egypt.*

"The French Directory, entirely forgetting the rights of nations, has led you into an error, beguiled your good faith, and, in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a country subject to the dominion of the Sublime Porte, persuading you that it would consent to the invasion of its territories.

"Can you doubt, that in thus sending you to a distant region, its sole end has been to exile you from France, to plunge you into an abyss of dangers, and to consign you to destruction. If, under a total ignorance of your situation, you have entered the land of Egypt; if you have served as the instruments of a violation of treaties, hitherto unknown among powers, is it not solely through the perfidy of your Directors? Yes; without doubt. Egypt, however, must be delivered from an invasion so iniquitous. Innumerable armies for that purpose are this moment on their march, and immense fleets already cover the seas.

"Those among you, of whatever rank, who wish to withdraw from the perils that await you, must, without delay, manifest your intentions to the marine and land forces of the allied powers; and you may rest assured of being conducted to those places to which you are desirous of proceeding, and that you shall be furnished with

passports, in order that you may not be molested on your routes by the cruisers or squadrons of the allied powers. Hasten, therefore, in time to take advantage of the benign intentions of the Sublime Porte, and regard this as a propitious offer to extricate yourselves from the frightful abyss into which you have been plunged.

*"Signed at Constantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, the Year of Hegira 1213," (February 5, 1799.)*

"I, the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of England at the Ottoman Porte, at present commanding the combined fleet before Acre, certify the authenticity of this proclamation, and guarantee the execution of the same.\*

(Signed) "SIDNEY SMITH.

*"On-board the Tigre, this 10th of May, 1799."*

This document received no other answer than that which insulted honour accords to infamous advice—silent contempt. The English commodore informed the enemy,

\* It is well known that Sir Sidney Smith did every thing in his power to corrupt the French army in Egypt. The false intelligence from Europe—the slanders respecting the General-in-chief—the powerful bribes held out to the officers and soldiers—were all approved by him:—the documents are published, and his proclamations are known.

At one time they created sufficient alarm in the French General to induce him to seek to put a stop to them; which he did, by forbidding all communication with the English, and stating, in the order of the day, that their Commodore had gone mad. This assertion was believed in the French army; and it so much enraged Sir Sidney Smith, that he sent Napoleon a challenge. The General replied, "that he had business of too great importance on his hands to think of troubling himself about such a trifle; had he received a challenge from the great Marlborough, then indeed he might have thought it worth his while to consider of it; but if the English seaman really felt inclined to amuse himself at a tilting match, he would send him a tall, bullying grenadier, and neutralize a few yards of the sea-coast, where the mad Commodore might come ashore and enjoy it to his heart's content."

that an alliance was agreed upon between England and the Porte, and signed the 5th January, 1799. He also sent some French prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Dgezzar. The officer who commanded the English boat was sent back without any answer, and the firing continued on both sides.

During the night the French commenced the removal of their sick, wounded, and the park of artillery. The first battalion of the sixty-ninth demi-brigade set out on the 18th May, and the twelfth followed it on the 19th: these formed the escort of the wounded and artillery. The advanced guard, under the orders of General Junot, after having destroyed the magazines of Tabarie, took a position at Saffarie, in order to cover the defiles of Obeline and Chef-Amrs, near the camp before Acre.

The English who had been latterly bombarded and cannonaded from the batteries more severely than ever, and beholding such a terrible fire directed against the palace of Dgezzar, and those parts of the fortifications which had hitherto remained untouched, as well as all the public edifices, on the 20th May, at day-break, made a general sortie; but the besiegers received them with their usual intrepidity, and speedily forced them to retire. This unsuccessful effort, however, did not discourage them; at three in the afternoon they rushed out again, and attacked the French at every point: on this occasion they employed all the reinforcements they had received, and the whole fought with a degree of fury and desperation which they had never before manifested. Their object was to gain those batteries that played upon the town, and to save it from ruin, by destroying them. But, notwithstanding the ardour and perseverance of these attacks, the Turks were every where repulsed, and compelled to retire, with considerable loss; they, however, gained a temporary possession of one of the works near the glacis of the breach-tower, but it was soon retaken by General Le-grange, who commanded in that direction; he attacked

vigorously with two companies of grenadiers, drove them out of the work, and pursued them to the verge of the fosses, killing all who did not fly for protection under the guns of the fortress.

The whole of the battering cannon being now removed, they were replaced on the batteries by some field-pieces; the French then destroyed, by means of a mine and sapping, an aqueduct of several leagues in length, which supplied the town of Acre with fresh water, and reduced all the magazines and crops in its vicinity to ashes. After having thrown every thing useless, or not worth removing, into the sea, they then began to raise the siege. The following proclamation, issued by the General-in-Chief, sufficiently explains the motives that prompted him to adopt this conduct.\*

\* We now resume M. Denon's account of his researches in Upper Egypt, while accompanying the expedition entrusted to General Desaix.

The real advantage obtained at the sanguinary battle of Sedinan, was detaching the Arabs from the Mameluke forces; while to this may be added, the fear with which our mode of fighting inspired the enemy. Notwithstanding the disproportion of numbers, the unfavourable position we occupied, and the circumstances in their favour, which must have made them reckon on our total annihilation, the result of this conflict put an end to such flattering illusions. Murad Bey now changed his plan of operations, and relinquishing all hope of breaking through the ranks of the infantry, or resisting its attacks in the open field, he thus prevented a speedy termination of the campaign by decisive blows, and we were consequently reduced to the expedient of pursuing an active and restless enemy; who, by anxious and unwearied precautions, left his opponents neither rest or security. Thus the mode of warfare adopted bore a strong resemblance to that of Antony when engaged against the Parthians: the Roman legions, invincible in the field, overthrew their enemy's battalions, and found no other obstacle than the space of country which their foes left behind them; but, exhausted with daily losses, the victors thought themselves fortunate to be able to quit the territory of a people who, always beaten but never subdued, would, even the day after a defeat, return with invincible perseverance to harass those whom they had just left masters of an unprofitable field of battle.

The heat of the days and the coolness of the nights in this season had afflicted the army with much inflammation of the eyes; this disease is unavoidable when long marches and fatiguing days are followed by night-watching, in which the humidity of the air

**" PROCLAMATION.**

*" Head-Quarters before Acre, the 17th Day of  
May, 1799.*

**" BONAPARTE, General-in-Chief.**

**" Soldiers, — You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of an Arab force.**

represses perspiration ; vicissitudes which bring on inflammation either in the eyes or the bowels.

" Desaix, to lose no time in levying the requisitions, and procuring horses in the province which he had just conquered, left three hundred and fifty men at Faiûm, and set out to reduce the villages which Murad-Bey had excited to revolt. During his absence in the province, a thousand Mamelukes, and a number fellahs, or peasants, came to attack the town which contained our sick men.

" General Robin, and the chief of brigade, Exuper, who, with the troops he commanded, were all suffering under ophthalmia, performed prodigies of valour, and drove back, from street to street, a whole host of enemies, after making a terrible slaughter among them. Desaix rejoined these brave men, and the whole army marched by Benesuef, to dispute with Murad-Bey the resources of this rich province.

When arrived at Benesuef, Desaix returned to Cairo, in order to procure the means of renewing the campaign : he there collected and despatched forward every thing which he thought necessary to secure his marches, and to force Murad to come to action.

On the left bank of the Nile, opposite Benesuef, the Arabian chain of mountains lowers, retires further off, and forms the valley of Arba, or the Chariots, terminated by Mount Kolsun, rendered famous by the grottoes of two cenobite patriarchs, St. Anthony and St. Paul, the founders of the monastic order, and creators of this contemplative system, which is so useless to mankind, and has been so long respected by the credulous people. On the soil which covers the two grottoes, which these hermit saints inhabited, two monasteries still exist, from one of which it is said Mount Sinai, beyond the Red-Sea, may be discerned. The mouth of this valley, towards the Nile, exhibits nothing but a dreary plain, the only cultivated part of which is a narrow slip of land on the bank of the river : some vestiges of villages overwhelmed by the sand may be discovered, and they present the afflicting sight of daily devastation, produced by the continual encroachment of the desert on the soil, inundated by sand.

Nothing is so melancholy to the feelings as to march over these ruined villages, to tread under foot the roofs of the houses, and the tops of minarets ; and to think that these were once cultivated fields, flourishing trees, and the habitations of man—every thing living has disappeared, silence is within and round every wall, and the deserted villages are like the dead, whose skeletons strike with terror.

“ The army which was on its march to invade Egypt is destroyed : you have taken its general, its field artil-

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The ancient Egyptians speak of this encroachment of the sands, under the symbol of the mysterious entrance of Typhon into the bed of his sister-in-law Isis ; an incest which is to change Egypt into a desert as frightful as those by which it is encompassed ; and this great event will happen when the Nile finds a lower level, through some one of the surrounding valleys, than the bed where it now flows, and which is constantly getting higher. This idea, which at first appears extraordinary, will be thought probable, when we consider the local situation. The elevation of the Nile, and the rise of its banks, have made of it an artificial canal, which would by this time have put Faïum under water, if the caliph Jusef had not raised new dykes upon the old ones, and dug a collateral canal below Benesuef, to restore to the river a part of the water which is every year poured forth by the overflowing into this vast basin. If it were not for the causeways that stop the inundation, the great swells would soon convert this whole province into a large lake, which was actually threatened twenty-five years ago by an extraordinary inundation, when the river had risen over the banks of Hilaon, and it was much feared either that the province would remain under water, or that the stream would resume an ancient channel, which it had evidently occupied in remote ages. To remedy this inconvenience, a graduated dyke has been raised near Hilaon, where there is a sluice erected, which, as soon as the inundation has got to the proper height to water the province without drowning it, divides the mass of water, takes the quantity necessary to irrigate Faïum, and turns off the remainder by forcing it back into the river through other canals of a deeper cut. If a conjecture might be hazarded, we would say, that, before the most ancient times of which we have any knowledge, the whole Delta was only a large gulph which received the waves of the Mediterranean ; that the Nile came as far as the opening of the valley which enters the province of Faïum ; that by the *dry river* it went to form the Maréotis, which was one of its estuaries to the sea, as the lake Madie was that of the Canopic branch, and as the lakes of Berelos and Menzaleh are still the estuaries of the Sebenitic, Mendeisian, Tanitic, and Pelusiatic mouths ; that the lake Bahr-Belame (or *without water*) is the remains of the ancient course of this river, wherein are found petrefactions (which incontestibly prove inundations), vegetations, and human labours, showing that the soil has been raised by the course of the river, and by the perpetual fluctuation of the sands from west to east ; that the Nile having at a certain period acquired more direction to the north than to the north-west as before, precipitated itself into the gulph which we have just supposed, there forming marshes, and at last the Delta. From this hypothesis it would follow, that the first labours of the ancient Egyptians, such as the lake Mœris (now lake Bathen), and the first dykes were only made to retain part of the waters of the inundation, in order, thereby, to irrigate the province of Arsinoë, which threatened to become barren ; and that subsequently, the lake Mœris, or Bathen, no longer

levy, camels, and baggage: you have captured all the fortified posts which secure the wells of the desert, and

receiving water enough, nor being able from its situation to water the province of Faium, the river was obliged to be taken higher up, and the canal Jusef was dug, which, doubtless, bears the name of the caliph who ordered this noble work: but at the same time fearing that Faium would remain permanently inundated, this prince raised, from time to time, new dykes upon the old, such as we now see, and dug the two canals of Boueke and Zaoyeh to return the superfluity of the flood back into the river.

When we enjoy quiet possession of the country we shall probably make observations on all the different levels, and on the labours of the Egyptians at various periods; we may thus ascertain facts, instead of forming conjectures, and show how much the Egyptians have at all times attended to the distribution of the waters, and how even at periods of barbarism they have preserved some of their ancient sagacity. After this, if the Nile should still continue to lean to the right, and to increase as it has already done, the branch of Damietta at the expense of that of Rosetta; if at least it should abandon the latter, as it has successively left the channels of the dry river and the branch of Canopus; if it should leave the lake of Berelos and empty itself entirely into that of Menzaleh, or form new branches and new lakes at the eastern part of Pelusium; in fine, if nature, always more powerful in the end than the resistance of man, has condemned the Delta to become an arid soil, the inhabitants will follow the Nile in its course, and always find on its banks that abundance which is produced by its beneficent waters.

Our first employment, after the departure of Desaix, was to reconnoitre the country, and make a progress through it, to levy contributions: we visited the villages which border the opening at Faium, half a league to the west of Benesuef. We then crossed the canal; and, after a march of two hours, arrived at Davalta, a fine village, or rather a beautiful country; for, in Egypt, when nature is charming, it is so in spite of all that men can add to it, or of the detractors of Savary, who have quarrelled so much with his luxurious descriptions. Nature here produces spontaneously groves of palms, under which flourish the orange tree, the sycamore, opuntia, banana, acacia, and pomegranate; trees that form groups of the finest mixture of foliage and verdure; and, when these delightful thickets are surrounded, as far as the eye can reach, with fields covered with ripe dourra, with mature sugar-canes, with fields of wheat, flax, and trefoil, which spread a downy carpet over the land, as the inundation retires; when, in the months of our European winter, we have before our eyes this rich prospect of spring, which promises the abundance of summer, we may well say with that traveller, that nature has organized this country in a most astonishing manner, and that there only want woody hills, with brooks flowing down their declivities, and a government which would render the people industrious, and prevent the incursions of the Bedouins, to render it the best and most beautiful soil on the face of the earth.



dispersed, in the district of Mount Thabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

In crossing the rich tract which I have just described, where the eye discovers twenty villages at once, we arrived at Dindyra, where we stopped for the night. The pyramid of Hilahun, situate at the entrance of Faium, seems like a fortress raised to command this province. Can this be the pyramid of Mendes? May not the canal of Bathen, which passes by it, be the lake Mœris formed by the hand of man, as Herodotus and Diodorus conjecture? For the lake Birket-el-Kerun, which is the Mœris of Strabo and Ptolemy, can never be regarded as anything but the work of nature. Accustomed as we are to the gigantic labours of the Egyptians, we can never persuade ourselves that they can have hollowed out a lake like that of Geneva. All that ancient historians and geographers tell us of the lake Mœris is doubtful and obscure; it is evidently seen that their accounts were dictated by the college of priests, who were always jealous of every thing that related to their country, and could the more easily have thrown a veil of mystery over this province, as it was situated beyond the common road of travellers. Hence we have had from them the story of an artificial lake three hundred feet in depth, of a pyramid raised in the middle of it, of a palace of a hundred chambers to feed crocodiles in, and, in short, of stories as fabulous as any in the history of man, and the most incredible part of the remains of Egyptian antiquity. But to reason from what actually exists, we find that there is, in truth, a canal here, that of Bathen, which was flooded when we visited it, as we approached it in different directions; that the pyramid of Hilahun may well be that of Mendes, which was built at the extremity of this canal, supposed to be the lake Mœris; that the lake Birket-el-Kerun, on the contrary, is a pool of water, which must always have existed, and whose bed must have been formed by the motion of the soil, which is carried up and renewed every year by the superfluity of the inundation of Faium, and its waters may have become brackish at a time when the waters of the Nile ceased to flow through the valley of the dry river. The proofs of this opinion are, the forms of the different parts, the existence of the bed of a river extended to the sea, but now dry, its depositions and incrustations, the depth of the lake, its extent, its bearing towards the north on a chain of hills, which run east and west, and turn off towards the north-west, sloping down to follow the course of the valley of the dry channel; likewise the natron lakes; and, more than all the other proofs, the form of the chain of mountains at the north of the pyramid which shuts the entrance of the valley, and appears to be cut perpendicularly, like almost all the mountains at the foot of which the Nile flows at the present day: all these offer to the view a channel left dry, and its several remains.

The ruins which are found near the town of Faium, are doubtless those of Arsinoë. I have not seen them, nor those which are at the west side of the lake near the village of Kasr-Kerun; but the plan of them shows only a few rooms, and a portico decorated with some hieroglyphics.

“The thirty ships which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an

The pyramid of Hilahun, the most shattered of all the pyramids which I have seen, is also that which is built with the least magnificence. It is constructed of masses of calcareous stones, serving as points of support to heaps of unbaked bricks; but, perishable as this kind of building is, and perhaps more ancient than the pyramids of Memphis, it still holds together; so favourable is the climate of Egypt to these monuments, which endure for ages here, but would fall to pieces exposed to the rigour of a single European winter.

There are some unlucky moments, when every thing one does is followed by danger or accident. As I returned from this journey back to Benesuef, the general charged me with carrying an order to the head of the column; I galloped on to execute it, when a soldier who was marching out of his rank, turning suddenly to the left, as I was passing to the right, presented his bayonet at me, and, before I could avoid it, I was unhorsed by the blow, whilst he at the same time was thrown down. “There is one *savant* less,” said he, while falling, (for with them every one who was not a soldier was a *savant*) but some piastres which I had in my pocket received the point of the bayonet, and I escaped with only a torn coat. When arrived at the head of the column, I found the aid-du-camp Rapp; we were well mounted, and had got before the infantry; it was at the close of the evening, and, being near the tropic, we had but little twilight, as in these regions darkness immediately follows sun-set. The Bedouins infested the country, and we saw some moving spots on the plain before us, which was very extensive. Rapp said to me, “We should not be here, let us either return to the column, or cross the country and get to Benesuef.” I knew that my companion preferred the boldest measure, so I chose the latter, and we spurred on our horses, braving the Bedouins, who are always abroad at this time: our ride was long, we increased our speed, and at last my horse ran away with me, and it was quite dark when I arrived under the intrenchments of Benesuef. I thought that I could continue on the same road I had passed in the morning; my horse stopped, I spurred him, and he leapt over a trench which had been made that day, and precipitated me on the other side with my face against a palisade, where I could neither advance nor retreat. At this time the sentinel challenged me, I did not hear him, and he fired: I called out in French; he asked what business I had there, chid me, then turned me out; and thus the awkward *savant* was bayoneted, fired at, upbraided, and sent home, like a truant schoolboy.

On the 10th of December, General Desaix returned from Cairo, bringing with him twelve hundred cavalry, six pieces of artillery, six armed djermes, and two or three hundred infantry; which made the strength of his division amount to three thousand infantry, twelve hundred cavalry, and eight pieces of light artillery: he was thus provided with every necessary to pursue, attack, and overcome Murad Bey, if he would let us come up with him; and we were all full of hope and courage. I was perhaps the only one in this army who had

attack upon Alexandria; but you compelled them to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their stand-

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neither glory nor advancement to acquire; but I could not help priding myself on my activity; and my self-love was flattered with marching amidst an army so brilliant with victory, having resumed my post at the advanced guard, and been the first to quit Toulon. I therefore marched cheerfully, with the pleasing hope of arriving the first at Cyene, and of realizing all my projects, and seeing the object of my journey fulfilled. In fact, the most interesting part of my travels was just beginning; I was now going to break up, as it were, a new country; to be the first to see, and to behold without prejudice, to make researches in a part of the earth hitherto covered with the veil of mystery, and, for two thousand years, shut out from the curiosity of Europeans. From the time of Herodotus to the present, every traveller, following the steps of his predecessor, had rapidly ascended the Nile, not daring to lose sight of his boat, and only quitting the shore for a few hours to hurry some hundred yards off, and visit with anxiety the nearest objects. For every thing beyond the vicinity of the river, the oriental histories have alone been consulted. Encouraged by the reception which I met with from the commander-in-chief, and seconded by all the officers, who partook of my zeal for the arts, I had no other fear than that of wanting time, paper, pencils, and ability, to take down all the objects of curiosity which presented themselves: I was now accustomed to night encampments, and could subsist very well on ammunition biscuit; I feared nothing from Murad-Bey, but to see him enter the desert, and to lead us from Benesuef to Faium, and back from Faium to Benesuef.

We quitted this latter town, December 17th; the spectacle was very fine, and I regretted being too busy myself to be able to make a sketch of it; our column extended a league in length, and every thing breathed joy and hope. At the fall of day we were saddened by the view of an uncultivated land, and a deserted village—how many melancholy ideas are included in the silence of night, the neglect of culture, and the ruins of the habitations of man! tyranny begins this disastrous waste, despair and crime finish it. Thus it happens in Egypt:—when the master of a village has exacted from it all that it can afford, and the misery of the inhabitants is further reduced to extremity by fresh demands, the villagers in despair oppose force to force; they are then treated as open rebels, each party has recourse to arms, and if the inhabitants, in defending themselves, have the misfortune to kill any one of their tyrants, or his satellites, they have no other resource than flight to save their lives, and theft to support them: men, women, and children, blotted out from society, and roving from place to place, become the terror of their neighbours, only appear furtively in their own native habitations, which they convert into dens of robbers, alarming those who would succeed them in their retreats of misery. Thus whole villages, when become the asylum of crime, offer no other view to the passenger than deserted fields, ruins, silence, and desolation.

We arrived at El-Berankah an hour before night, and quitted it

ards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

at day-break the next morning; we breakfasted at Bebeh, a considerable village, which has nothing remarkable, except that it possesses the wrist of St. George, a relic which should recommend it to every pious son of chivalry. The Arabian chain of hills here approaches the river so close as to leave only a narrow strip of green land between the two.

At Miriel Guidi we were delayed by several accidents which happened to the carriages of our field pieces in getting them over the canals: we learnt that the Mamelukes were at Fechneh. Whilst we were waiting under the shade, a criminal came before General Desaix. Those that brought him said, "he is a thief; he has stolen some guns from the volunteers, and has been taken in the act." How much we were surprised to see the robber a boy of twelve years old, beautiful as an angel, with a large sabre wound in his arm, which he looked at without emotion. He presented himself to the general, whom he perceived to be his judge, with an air of firmness and simplicity, and (so great is the charm of native grace) not a person present could preserve his anger. He was asked who bid him steal these guns? "Nobody." What had induced him to do it? "I do not know; it was the great God." Had he parents? "Only a mother, very poor and blind." The general told him, if he confessed who sent him, he should be released; if not, he should be punished as he deserved. "I have already told you nobody sent me, it was God alone that put it into my head; then laying his cap at the feet of the general, he said, "there is my head, you may cut it off!" Fatal religion, in which vicious principles and positive laws urge man to heroism and to wickedness!—"Poor little wretch," said the general, "let him go." He saw that his sentence was passed; he looked at the general, then at the soldier who was leading him off, and, guessing the meaning of what he could not understand, he parted with a smile of confidence. Such anecdotes as these give a better insight into the morals of nations, and the influence of religion and laws, than regular discussions.

A strange event succeeded to this interesting scene—it was the fall of rain. It gave us, for a moment, a sensation which recalled Europe to our minds, and the first soft showers of spring in the midst of December. Some minutes after we were told, that the Mamelukes were waiting for us about two leagues off, with an army of peasants. Every one was immediately on the alert, expecting battle in the evening, or the next day at latest. On approaching Fechneh we discovered a detachment of Mamelukes, who let us approach within half cannon shot, and then disappeared. We were told that the main body was at Saste Elsayeneh, a league further off; but our artillery was not come up, as it was constantly delayed by the canals; and in spite of the wish of the general to join the enemy, and attack him even before we were completely formed in order of battle, we could not get to Saste till night, when we found that the Mamelukes had quitted it two hours before. At Saste we learnt that they had got intelligence of our march at midnight, at the time when the inhabitants were dis-

“ Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war during three months in the heart of Syria,

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putting with them concerning the extraordinary impositions which they demanded; they immediately thought of nothing but loading their camels, calling us the *scourge of God* sent to punish their faults, and in truth they might have used less pious expressions.

They kindled fires, which soon went out. We left this place the 19th of December, at day-break: they had preceded us two hours, and were three leagues before us. They quitted the Nile in the direction of their march, passing between Bar-Jusef and the desert, abandoning the richest country in the universe. In this third passage I did not find the straight canal, as it is marked in all the charts; but it is only an actual survey of the levels that can give a knowledge of the system and regulation of the irrigations, and of the works to be respectively attributed to art and to nature in this interesting part of Egypt. Towards evening we forded the canal Jusef, which, at this place, appears to be only the receptacle of the flood waters, because it is the lowest part of the valley, and no where the work of human industry. But all these questions will be determined by a grand operation to be performed in time of peace, from which the best way may be suggested of recovering the advantages of this mysterious canal, now lost or sunk into neglect. This important work would have fallen to the lot of General Caffarelli, who was always so ardent in contributing to the public welfare, if death had not deprived the commander-in-chief of his services as a friend, and all Egypt of a benefactor.

From a simple inspection of these different levels, I should be disposed to believe, that this part of Egypt has become lower than the elevated banks of the Nile, and that after the general inundation, the drainings of the water all collect in this spot. I have since seen in Upper Egypt the effect of the filtration which here occurs; the waters having in this country neither canals nor valleys through which they can be carried off after the inundation, the entire mass penetrates the whole depth of the vegetable soil, and at the bottom it meets with a bed of clay, which it cannot pass, but returns to the river by small streamlets, when the fall of the flood has sunk it below the surface of this bed of clay. May not the *oasis* be ascribed to a similar operation of nature?

We here saw some bustards: they were smaller than those of Europe, as is the case with every animal common to the two continents. We were now approaching the desert, which was also advancing to us, for, as the ancient Egyptians expressed it, the desert is the tyrant Typhon, who is constantly invading Egypt. The mountains were still two leagues off, and we were at the edge of the plain which forms a border between the deserts and the cultivated country. Whilst we were halting, we received intelligence that the Mamelukes were engaged with our advanced guard: but news is fabricated by the advanced guard of an army for the main body, as well as by one quarter of Paris for the other; however, as even reports of this kind are not to be neglected, we halted for the night near the village of Benachie, in a fine wood of palm-trees.

taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stands of colours, six thousand prisoners, and razed or destroyed the fortifica-

On the 30th, at day-break, we continued our route, in the constant hope of reaching the enemy: we learnt that he had marched all night: the artillery delayed our progress, and constantly required some little stop; whilst the Mamelukes, unincumbered by heavy guns, had the desert before them, in the midst of which they could defy our eagerness. We attempted, however, to enter it, and presently our draught horses were knocked up: however, we arrived by this route at Benesech, where, fortunately for me the army halted.

Benesech was built on the ruins of the ancient Oxyrinchus, the capital of the thirty-third nome, or province of Egypt. Nothing, however, remains of this city but some fragments of stone pillars, marble columns in the mosques, and a single column left standing, along with its capital, and part of the entablature, which show that it is the fragment of a portico of the composite order. It was not without some danger that I arrived here alone, half an hour before the division; but it would have been attended with still greater risk to have remained behind; I therefore had only time to take a general view, on horseback of the desolate country. This solitary monument brings a melancholy sensation to the mind; Oxyrinchus, once a metropolis, surrounded by a fertile plain, two leagues off the Lybian range of hills, has disappeared beneath the sand; and the new town has been obliged to retreat from this desolating invasion, leaving to its ravages house after house, and the inhabitants must at last be driven beyond the canal Jusef, on the border of which they will still be menaced. This fine canal seemed to offer to our sight its verdant banks, in order to console us for the prospect of the desert which lay before our eyes, a desert which presents such a gloomy idea to all who have once beheld it—a boundless horizon of barrenness, which oppresses the mind by immensity of distance, and whose appearance, where level, is only a dreary waste; and where broken by hills, merely shows another feature of decay and decrepitude, whilst the silence of inanimate nature reigns throughout undisturbed.

I remained absorbed in the melancholy inspired by the scene before my eyes, when I saw Desaix in the same attitude with myself, penetrated with similar sensations. "My friend," said he, "is not this an error of nature? Nothing here receives life; every thing appears to be placed for the purpose of inspiring with melancholy or dread: it would seem as if Providence, after having provided abundantly for the necessities of the three other parts of the world, suddenly stopped here for want of materials, and abandoned it to its original barrenness." "Is it not rather," I replied, "the decrepitude of the most anciently inhabited part of the globe? Has not the abuse which men have made of the gifts of nature reduced it to this state?" In this desert there are vallies, and petrified wood; there have, therefore, been rivers and forests; these last have been destroyed, and after this have disappeared the dew, the mist, the rain, the rivers, and with them all animated beings.

We found in the mosques of Benesech, a number of columns of

tions of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

different marbles, no doubt the spoils of old Oxyrinchus, but which were not of the style of ancient Egypt.

We returned, following the course of the canal, which in this part resembles our river Le Marne. Some time after, we saw a considerable explosion, but heard no noise following; we thought it was a signal; however, the day but one after, we learnt that a part of the powder of the Mamelukes had taken fire. We also seized a convoy of eight hundred sheep, which, I believe, without much difficulty, we persuaded ourselves belonged to the enemy, and in the evening it consoled our troops for the fatigues of the day. We arrived at Elsack too late to save the village from being pillaged: in a quarter of an hour there remained nothing in the houses, literally nothing: the Arab inhabitants had fled into the fields; we invited them back, they answered coldly: "Why should we return to our houses, are not the deserts now as good as our own homes?" We had nothing to reply to this laconic answer.

Nothing interesting happened during the next day: we found the lake Bathen as serpentine as that of Jusef; but we must wait for an actual survey of those canals to be able to form any rational conjecture on the ancient system of irrigation, till which time all our reasonings would be precipitate, and our assertions illusory. We slept at Tata, a large village inhabited by Copts; and an Arab chief, who had joined Murad Bey, had left at our disposal a large house and mattresses, on which we passed a delicious night, for we could very rarely be lodged so commodiously.

The next day, December 22d, we crossed fields of peas and beans already in pod, and barley in flower. At noon we arrived at Mynyeh, a large and handsome town, in which there had formerly been a temple dedicated to Anubis. I found no ruins, but handsome columns of granite in the large mosque, which were well cut out, and had a very fine astragal: I know not whether they had formed part of the temple of Anubis, but they were certainly of a date posterior to that of the temples of high antiquity in Egypt, which I afterwards saw in my travels.

The Mamelukes had quitted the town of Mynyeh, and were near being surprised by our cavalry, who entered it some hours after. They had been obliged to abandon five vessels armed with ten pieces of cannon and a mortar; besides which, they had buried two others, that were shown us by several Greek deserters who came to join us.

Mynyeh was the handsomest town we had yet seen; it had good streets, substantial houses very well situated, and the Nile flowing through a large and cheerful channel.

From Mynyeh to Come-el-Casar, where we slept, the country is more rich and abundant than any that we had hitherto travelled over, and the villages so numerous and contiguous to each other, that, from the middle of the plain, I reckoned twenty-four around me; they were not rendered gloomy by heaps of ruins, but planted with trees so thickly interwoven, that they reminded me of the descriptions which travellers have given us of the islands in the Pacific Ocean.

“ A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the Pacha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle

The following morning, at eleven, we were between Antinöe and Hermopolis. I had not much curiosity to visit the former of these places; as I had already seen the monuments of the age of Adrian, and the buildings of this emperor in Egypt could not present to me any thing very new or striking; but I was eager to go to Hermopolis, where I knew there was a celebrated portico; it was, therefore, with great satisfaction I heard Desaix inform me, that he should take three hundred cavalry, and make an excursion to Achmounin, whilst the infantry were marching to Melaiei.

While approaching the eminence on which is built the portico of Hermopolis, I saw its outline in the horizon, together with its gigantic features. We crossed the canal of Abu-Assi, and soon after, passing across mountains and ruins, reached this beautiful monument, a relic of the highest antiquity.

I was enchanted with delight on thus seeing the earliest fruit of my labours; for, excepting the pyramids, this was the first monument which gave me an idea of ancient Egyptian architecture; the first stones that I had seen, preserving their original destination, without being altered or deformed by the works of modern times, which had remained untouched for four thousand years, and reminded me of the immense range and high perfection to which the arts had arrived in this country. A peasant who should issue from his cottage, and be placed before such a building as this, would believe that there must exist a wide difference between himself and the beings who were able to construct it; and without having any idea of architecture, he would say, this is the work of a god, a man could not dare to inhabit it. Is it the Egyptians who have invented and brought to perfection such a beautiful art? This is a question I am unable to answer; but even on a first glimpse of this edifice we may pronounce, that the Greeks never devised nor executed any thing in a grander style.

Among the hillocks, within three or four hundred yards of the portico, enormous blocks of stone appear half buried in sand, and regular architecture beneath them, which appear to form an edifice containing columns of granite, just rising above the present level of the soil. Further on, but still connected with the scattered fragments of the great temple of Hermopolis, I have just described, is built a mosque, containing a number of columns of cipoline marble of middling size, and retouched by the Arabs; then comes the large village of Achmunin, peopled by about five thousand inhabitants, to whom we were as great an object of curiosity as their temple had been to us.

We slept at Melai, within half a league of the road from Achmunin. But methinks I hear the reader exclaim, “ What do you quit Hermopolis already, after having fatigued me with long descriptions of monuments of little note; and now you pass rapidly over what might interest me: Where is the hurry? are you not with a well informed general, who loves the arts, and have you not three hundred men with you?” All this is very true, but such are the necessary events of this



of Acre is not worth the loss of those days ; nor of those brave soldiers who would consequently fall, and are now necessary for more essential services.

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journey, and such the lot of the traveller : the general, whose intentions are very good, but whose curiosity is soon satisfied, says to the artist, "I have three hundred men here who have been ten hours on horseback ; they must find shelter for the night, and make their soup before they go to rest." The artist feels the full force of this, as he is himself perhaps very weary and hungry, and must share with the rest in the fatigues of night encampments, and especially as he is every day twelve or sixteen hours on horseback, as the desert has tired his sight, and his eyes, burning and smarting, only see dimly through a veil of blood.

Melaui is larger and still more beautiful than Mynyah ; its streets are straight, and its bazar very well built ; there is here a very large house belonging to the Mamelukes, which it would be easy to fortify.

We entered the place late ; I had lost time in going up and down the town, and seeking out for quarters ; I was lodged without the walls, and before a handsome house which appeared very commodious ; the owner was sitting at his ease before his door, and seeing one lying down on the outside, he beckoned me into a chamber, where I found General Beliard, who had already taken advantage of his hospitality. I was hardly asleep when I was awakened by an intolerable restlessness, which I took to be the beginning of an inflammatory fever ; but after remaining a long time in this state of agitation, I found my companion as ill off as myself, and we both started up, left the room, and looking at each other by moonlight, our skins were red, inflamed, and our features hardly distinguishable ; and, on further examination, we found ourselves covered with vermin of every description.

These mansions in Upper Egypt are nothing but vast pigeon houses, in which the owner only reserves to himself a room or two for his own use, and there he lodges along with poultry of all kinds, and the vermin they engender between them, which is a part of his daily employment to hunt for, but at night the toughness of his skin defies their bites ; and thus our host, who intended to do us a civility, could not conceive the reason of our quitting him so abruptly. We got rid as well as we could of the most troublesome of these intruders, vowing never again to take advantage of such hospitality.

On the ensuing day, December 24th, we continued our pursuit of the Mamelukes ; they always kept about four leagues distant, and we could never gain ground upon them. In their march they ravaged as much as they could, the country which they kept between us. Towards the evening we saw a deputation with a flag of alliance coming up to our camp. It was a party of Christians, from whom the Mamelukes had demanded a requisition of a hundred camels, and these poor wretches not having it in their power to comply with the demand, the enemy had barbarously killed sixty of their people. They in return, highly exasperated, had slain eight of the Mamelukes, whose heads they offered to bring us. They all spoke at once,

"Soldiers,—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having, during this campaign, secured

repeating perpetually the same expressions, but fortunately for our ears, the audience was given in a field of lucerne, which offered a reasonable refreshment to the deputation, who began to devour the crop greedily, as if it were a dainty which they were afraid of losing.

We slept at Elgansanier, where we were very well lodged in a san-ton's tomb.

The next day, December 25th, we were marching over Mount Falut, when we learned that the Mamelukes were at Bencadi, to which place we immediately directed our course, in hopes of coming up with them. Partaking of the eagerness of all around me, I was full of joy when we received any tidings of the Mamelukes, without reflecting that I had no reason for animosity or revenge against them, and that as they had not injured the remains of antiquity, which was my harvest, I had no cause of complaint against them. If they had acquired unfairly the soil which we were treading, at least it was not for us to make any objections: their rights were sanctioned by several centuries of possession; but the preparations for a battle present so much bustle and activity, and altogether form such a striking scene, while the event is of so much importance to all concerned, that the mind has but little room left for moral reflections; success becomes the only object, for the game has so high a stake that no one chooses to relinquish it.

But when arrived at Bencadi our hopes were once more deceived; we only found some Arabs, whom our cavalry chased into the desert. Bencadi is a rich village, about half a league in length, advantageously situated for the trade of Darfur, which is carried on by caravans, possessing an abundant territory, and a population numerous enough to compel the Mamelukes to enter into some composition for their levies, and not to allow them to seize it as plunder. We also found it prudent to temporise with them for the present, especially as the advances they made were offered somewhat in the manner of conditions; this insolence we thought proper to pass over under an appearance of cordiality. Surrounded by Arabs whom they do not in the least fear, as they supply those freebooters with their articles of the first necessity, and consequently can dispose of their services, the inhabitants of Bencadi enjoy an influence in the province which would render them an object of embarrassment to any government whatsoever; they came forth to meet us, and reconducted us out of their territory, without either party being at all tempted to pass the night in the same place. We slept at Benisanet.

On the 26th, before we got to Siut, we found a large bridge, with a lock, and floodgates, in order to retain the waters of the Nile after the inundation; these Arabian works made doubtless from ancient models, are as useful as well contrived; and, in general, it appeared to me, that the distribution of the waters in Upper Egypt for irrigation was ordered with more intelligence and effected by simpler means than throughout the lower provinces.

ourselves from attacks from the eastward, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel efforts made from the west. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistible impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory."

On the 20th of May, at nine in the evening, the *generale* was beat, and the siege, which had lasted sixty days, after the opening of the trenches, was raised.

We find, from the Journal of Comte Las Cases, that, speaking of St. Jean d'Acre, NAPOLEON expressed himself in the following manner: "If I had taken St. Jean d'Acre, a complete revolution would have been effected in the East. The most insignificant circumstances are productive of the greatest events. The timidity of the captain of a frigate who continued in open sea instead of forcing his passage into the port; and some misunderstanding that occurred between the commanders of several smaller vessels, prevented a complete change taking place in the order of things as established on the face of the globe. Saint Jean d'Acre once secured, the French army would have proceeded to Damascus and Aleppo, from whence, in a very short time, it would have appeared on the banks of the Euphrates; the Christians of Syria and of Armenia would have joined our forces, and the whole population of those countries must have been shaken." One of us, says the Comte Las Cases, having remarked that the army might soon have been reinforced with an hundred thousand men, NAPOLEON replied, "Rather say six hundred thousand, for who can form an estimate upon that head? I would have gained Constantinople and the Indies; and a change in the existing state of the world would *thus* have been accomplished."

On another occasion, says the Comte, NAPOLEON,

in reference to Saint Jean d'Acre, spoke to the following effect: "It was, however, very audacious to have  
"marched into the centre of Syria with only twelve thousand men. I was five hundred leagues distant from  
"General Desaix, who headed the other extremity of  
"my army. Sidney Smith stated that I had lost eighteen  
"thousand men before St. Jean d'Acre, whereas my  
"whole force amounted only to twelve thousand troops.  
"Had I been master of the ocean I would have conquered the East, which was so feasible that nothing  
"prevented the result, but the stupidity or improper  
"conduct of some nautical men.

"Volney, when journeying in Egypt, prior to the  
"Revolution, stated, that the occupation of that territory could only be compassed by three great wars:  
"that is to say; with England, the Grand Signior, and  
"the natives: the latter appearing, above all, the most  
"arduous enterprise. He was, however, in the wrong,  
"as we found it no difficult matter; nay, we had even  
"rendered the inhabitants our friends, and made their  
"cause our own.

"A mere handful of French, as I may say, had sufficed to conquer that beautiful country, which they  
"ought never to have lost! We had, indeed, accomplished prodigies in war and in policy! Our undertaking had no reference whatever to the crusades:  
"the crusaders were without number, and imbued with  
"fanaticism; my army, on the contrary, was small and  
"the soldiers so unfavourable to the enterprise, that they  
"were frequently tempted, in principle, to carry off their  
"standards and march back. I succeeded at length in  
"reconciling them to the country, which abounded in  
"every thing, and was so cheap, that I was, for a moment,  
"tempted to reduce them to half pay, and lay by the  
"other moiety as a reserve. I had acquired such empire  
"over them, that a simple order of the day would have

“ been sufficient to make them all embrace Mahometanism. They would only have laughed at the idea ; the natives would have been reconciled, and the Christians of the East would have believed their cause accomplished, they would have approved such conduct, thinking that we could not do better for us and for themselves.

“ The English shuddered at the idea of our occupying Egypt, because we thereby displayed to Europe the only means of depriving them of India. They are by no means satisfied, even to the present moment ; and they are in the right. If forty or fifty thousand European families should once establish their industry, their laws, and their administration in Egypt, India will be lost to Great Britain, much more by the influence of things than the mere force of arms.”

The division of General Lannes began its march for Tentoura ; it was followed by the baggage of the army, and the artillery of General Bon's division. The division of General Kleber, and the cavalry, took their respective positions ; the infantry in the rear of the head of the trenches, and the cavalry in front of the bridge thrown across the river of Acre, at the distance of fifteen hundred toises from the fortress. Immediately after, the division of General Regnier, which was intrenched, filed off in the greatest silence ; their field-pieces were drawn by the men, and at once followed the route of the army. The out-posts were ordered into the works ; the division of General Regnier, which halted at the termination of the trenches proceeded to the camp for their baggage, and then followed the march of the army. When they had passed the bridge, General Kleber's division began to move ; it was followed by the cavalry, who had orders not to quit their station near the river, until two hours after the last body of the infantry had marched off ; they, however, left one hundred dismounted dragoons to protect

the workmen employed in destroying the two bridges. General Junot, with his corps, had proceeded to the mill of Kerdanna, to cover the left wing of the army.

The siege would have been raised in the day-time, had not the route, for more than three leagues, led along the sea-coast, which would have afforded the enemy an opportunity of annoying the French with their gun-boats during that period of their march. The besieged continued their fire throughout the night as usual, and did not perceive till next day that the siege was raised; they had, however, suffered so much that they made no movement to follow. The march was conducted with the greatest order; on the 21st of May the French arrived at Tentoura, the port at which were landed the articles sent for the use of the army from Damietta and Jaffa, and also the battering cannon, as well as the forty large Turkish field-pieces taken at Jaffa, and of which only a part had been forwarded to Acre. As they had not a sufficient number of horses to draw this immense quantity of Turkish artillery, BONAPARTE determined that all the means he possessed of transporting by sea should be preferably employed in removing the sick and wounded. In consequence, he resolved to carry with him but two howitzers and some light pieces of the Turkish artillery, the remainder, about twenty-two, were thrown into the sea, their carriages and caissons being previously burned at Tentoura. All the sick and wounded were sent on to Jaffa; generals, officers, and administrators, all cheerfully lent their horses for that service: not one Frenchman was left behind, even those affected by the plague were removed.\*

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\* After the siege of Saint Jean D'Acre had been raised, Napoleon was given to understand that the horses employed in transporting the sick were not sufficiently numerous to effect the purpose, as a great many had been wounded. No sooner had he acquired this information than, springing from the saddle, he caused the whole of his suite to dismount on the instant, commanding every horse to be despatched for the use of the sick and wounded, the general and his suite per-

On the 22d, the army lay at the ruins of Cesarea; on the following day, a party of Naplouzians appeared near the port of Abouhaboura, some of them were taken and shot, the rest fled; their object was to plunder the stragglers about the army in their march. On the 23d, the French encamped within four leagues of Jaffa, near a small river. Detachments were ordered against some villages in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which had, during the siege of Acre, attacked and plundered the convoys, and massacred the escorts; these villages were burned, as well as the surrounding crops, and the cattle carried off. This vengeance was not only called for upon the heads of the assassins, but authorised by the rigorous laws of war, which allow of depriving the enemy of all means of subsistence. On the 24th, the army arrived at Jaffa; a bridge of boats had been thrown over the river of Lahoya, as a ford near its entrance could not be passed without great difficulty. The 25th, 26th, and 27th, the army remained at Jaffa; the time was employed in punishing the inhabitants of the adjacent villages for their criminal conduct, and in destroying the fortifications at Jaffa, while all the iron cannon in the place were thrown into the sea. From this town part of the wounded were sent off in vessels; the French, however, having but a small number of ships for that purpose, the forwarding those who were to proceed by land caused some delays, so that the army could not march before the 28th. The first and second battalions of the sixty-ninth, and the twenty-second light infantry, departed successively to escort the convoys by land.

Being now upon the subject of Jaffa, it becomes our duty to break in upon the regular thread of the narrative, in order to investigate the long accredited tale of Napo-

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*forming a three days' march on foot over the burning sands of the desert.* What a complete refutation is this single trait, of the infamous aspersions at one time accredited, in respect to the conduct pursued towards his suffering troops in the hospitals of Jaffa?

leon's having caused poison to be administered to his diseased soldiers.

This circumstance detailed, in the first instance, by Sir Robert Wilson, who has since retracted the assertion, is now proved to be completely erroneous; but, as a great number of our readers may not be in possession of the necessary proofs, we proceed to insert them: not only veracity demands these statements, but they are due to the memory of the extraordinary hero to whom they relate. On this momentous subject Bonaparte thus expressed himself:—

“ Previous to leaving Jaffa, and after the greatest number of the sick and wounded had been embarked, it was reported to me that there were some men in the hospital so dangerously ill as not to be able to be moved. I immediately ordered the chiefs of the medical staff to consult together upon what was best to be done, and to give me their opinion on the subject. Accordingly they met, and found that there were *seven or eight men* so dangerously ill that they conceived it impossible for them to recover; and also that they could not exist much longer; that moreover, being afflicted with the plague, they would spread the contagion amongst all those who approached them. Some of the soldiers, who were sensible, perceiving that they were about to be abandoned, demanded, with earnest entreaties, to be put to death. Larrey was of opinion that recovery was impossible, and that those poor fellows could not exist many hours; but as they might live long enough to be alive when the Turks entered, and experience the dreadful torments which they were accustomed to inflict upon their prisoners, *he thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires, and accelerate their end by a few hours.* Desgenettes did not approve of this, and replied, that his profession was to cure the sick, and not to despatch them. Larrey came to me immediately afterwards, informed me of the circumstances, and of what Desgenettes had said; adding,



that perhaps Desgenettes was right. 'But,' continued Larrey, 'those men cannot live for more than a few hours, twenty-four, or thirty-six at most; and if you will leave a rear-guard of cavalry to stay and protect them from advanced parties, it will be sufficient.' Accordingly I ordered four or five hundred cavalry to remain behind, and not to quit the place until all were dead. They did remain, and informed me that the whole had expired before they left the town; but I have since heard that Sir Sidney Smith found one or two alive when he entered the place. This is the truth of the business.\* Wilson

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\* Sir Robert had a son among the young midshipmen on board the Northumberland, in her passage to St. Helena, and my son, (says Count Las Cases,) whose similarity of age occasioned him to be much in the society of these youths, could easily observe the change which took place in their opinions with respect to us. They were at first very much prejudiced against us. When the Emperor came on board, they regarded him as an *Ogre* ready to devour them. But, on a better acquaintance with us, truth soon exercised over them the same influence which it produced on the rest of the crew. This was, however, at the expense of young Wilson, who was scouted by his companions, by way of expiation for the stories which his father had circulated.

I had collected numerous offensive statements from the writings of Sir Robert Wilson, to which I had perhaps replied with too much bitterness; a recent circumstance has induced me to suppress this portion of my journal.

Sir Robert Wilson has lately acted a conspicuous part in a cause which does honour to the hearts of all who were concerned in it: I allude to the saving of Lavalette. Being asked before a French tribunal, whether he had not formerly published works respecting our affairs? he replied in the affirmative, and added, that he had stated in them what he *then* believed to be true. These words are more to the purpose than any thing I could say; and therefore I hasten to cancel what I have already written; happy in thus having an opportunity of rendering justice to Sir Robert Wilson, on whose sincerity and good intentions I had, in my indignation, cast reflections. After my removal from Longwood, Sir Hudson Lowe, who had seized my papers, looked over the journal, with my permission. He, of course, met with parts which were very displeasing to him; and he said to me, "*What a pretty legacy you are preparing for my children, Count!*"—"That is not my fault," replied I, "it depends only on yourself to render it otherwise; I shall be happy to have reason to strike out any thing respecting you, as I did the other day with regard to Sir Robert Wilson. Upon which he asked me what I had written about Sir Robert, and I pointed out the place. After reading all that had been written, and hearing my reasons for cancelling it, he said, with a

himself, I dare say, now knows that he was mistaken. Sydney Smith never asserted it. I have no doubt that this story of the poisoning originated in something said by Desgenettes, who was a *bavard* (gossip), which was afterwards misconceived or incorrectly repeated. Desgenettes,' continued the Emperor, 'was a good man, and notwithstanding he gave rise to this story, *I was not offended, and had him near my person in different campaigns afterwards.* Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been administered; on the contrary, I conceive it would have been a virtue. To leave a few *miserables*, who could not recover, in order that they might be massacred by the Turks with the most dreadful tortures, as was their custom, would, I think, have been cruelty. *A General ought to act with his soldiers, as he would wish should be done to himself.* Now, would not any man, under similar circumstances, who had his senses, have preferred dying easily a few hours sooner, rather than expire under the tortures of those barbarians? You have been amongst the Turks,' said Napoleon to Mr. O'Meara, 'and know what they are; place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and suppose you were asked which you would prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures inflicted by those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you? Mr. O'Meara replied,

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thoughtful and mortified air, "Yes, I see; and he has proved himself a warm friend of the Bourbons.

We leaped for joy when we heard of the escape of Lavalette. Some one observed that his deliverer, Wilson, could not be the same individual who had written so many offensive things concerning the Emperor. "And why not?" said Napoleon. "You know but little of men, and the passions by which they are actuated. What leads you to imagine that Sir Robert Wilson is not a man of enthusiasm and of violent passions, who wrote what he then believed to be true? And while we were enemies we contended with each other, but in our present adversity he knows better; he may have been abused and deceived, and may be sorry for it. *He is perhaps now as sincere in wishing us well as he formerly was in seeking to injure us.*—Las Cases.

'most undoubtedly I would prefer the latter.' 'Certainly, so would any man,' answered Napoleon; 'if my own son (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done: *and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough, and sufficient strength to demand it.* But, however, affairs were not so pressing as to prevent me from leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium necessary, I would have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. *Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers* (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime), *or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without parallel?* No, no; I never should have done so a second time! Many would have shot me while passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull the trigger, would have despatched me,

" 'I never,' continued Napoleon, '*committed a crime in all my political career. At my last hour I can assert that. Had I done so, I should not have been here now.* I could have despatched the Bourbons. It only rested with me to give my consent, and they would have ceased to live.

" 'I have risen to too great a pitch of human glory and elevation not to have excited the envy and the jealousy of mankind. They will say, 'it is true that he has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of glory, *mais pour y arriver, il commit beaucoup de crimes*, (but to attain it, he has committed many crimes).' Now the fact is, *that I not only never committed any crimes, but I never even thought of doing so. J'ai toujours marché avec l'opi-*

*nion de grandes masses et les événemens*, (I have always gone with the opinions of the great mass of the people, and with events). I have always considered lightly the opinion of individuals, of that of the public I thought a great deal; of what use, then, would crime have been to me? I am too much a *fatalist*, and have always despised mankind too much to have had recourse to crime to frustrate their attempts. *J'ai marché toujours avec l'opinion de cinq ou six millions d'hommes*, (I have always marched with the opinion of five or six millions of men); of what use, then, would crime have been to me? In spite of all the libels,' continued he, 'I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known, and the good which I have done, with the faults which I have committed, will be compared. I am not uneasy as to the result. Had I succeeded, I should have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparalleled, *because* unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have gained. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most remote posterity. From nothing I raised myself to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet.'"

Baron Larrey,\* the principal surgeon on the French

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\* Of Baron Larrey, the French surgeon, Napoleon gave the following high character:—

"Larrey," said he, to Mr. O'Meara, "was the most honest man, and the best friend to the soldier that I ever knew. Indefatigable in his exertions for the wounded, Larrey was seen on the field of battle, after an action, accompanied by a train of young surgeons, endeavouring to discover if any signs of life remained in the bodies. In the most inclement weather, and at all times of the night and day, Larrey was to be found amongst the wounded. He scarcely allowed a moment's repose to his assistants, and kept them continually at their posts. He tormented the generals, and disturbed them out of their beds at night whenever he wanted accommodations or assistance for

staff, after his return to Europe, published a work, entitled, *Relation historique et chirurgicale de l'Expédition de l'Armée de l'Orient en Egypte et en Syrie*, which he dedicated to Bonaparte, as a tribute due to him for the care and attention he always paid to the sick and wounded soldiers. Assalini also speaks in high terms of his attention to the sick, as will be seen by the following passage:—"The Commander-in-Chief, Bonaparte, great in every emergency, braved, on several occasions, the danger of the contagion. *I have seen him in the hospitals at Jaffa, inspecting the wards, and talking familiarly with the soldiers attacked by the epidemic fever*; a conduct which produced the best effect, not only on the spirits of the sick, but of the whole army. This heroic example encouraged, at the same time, the hospital attendants, whom the progress of the disease and the fear of contagion had alarmed considerably.

Comte Las Cases speaking of this eventful transaction gives the following satisfactory and conclusive statement in respect to the sick at Jaffa.

"A General, a hero, and a great man, until that period respected by fortune as well as by mankind, who rivetted the attention of two-thirds of the population of the globe, claiming the admiration even of his enemies, was suddenly accused of a crime without parallel: of an inhuman, atrocious, and cruel act, and, what is above all remarkable, of no possible utility.

"Absurd details, circumstances void of all probability, and the most ridiculous accessaries were added to this first untruth; it was spread throughout Europe, and readily believed, the gazettes teemed with the recital; books promulgated the account, which was averred for a fact; so that general indignation succeeded, and the

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the wounded or sick. They were all afraid of him, as they knew he would instantly come and make a complaint to me. He paid court to none of them, and was the implacable enemy of the *fournisseurs*."

clamour became universal." It is in vain to argue against a torrent; to demonstrate the want of proofs; to prove that assertions belie themselves, to bring forward undeniable witnesses, contradicting such statements; nay, to produce even the very testimony of those of the profession said to have administered the poison, or, who refused their acquiescence with the measure, all was of no avail. To aver the folly of conceiving that being capable of inhumanity who had, a short time before, immortalized himself, in those very hospitals at Jaffa, by an act truly sublime and heroic; that of touching in the most solemn manner those attacked by the plague to deceive and triumph over the imaginations of the sick; how, we say, could such a mode of conduct be attributed to a man, who, when consulted by the guardians of health, to know whether the clothing of the infected should be burned or only washed, alleging the great loss that would accrue in case the first measure was resorted to—made for answer:—"Gentlemen, I came hither to rivet the attention, and calculate the interests of Europe in the centre of the ancient world, and not to acquire riches." It was futile to endeavour to demonstrate that this supposed crime was without any object or motive whatsoever. Had the French General cause to apprehend that the sick would be worked upon, and prompted to league against him? Was he anxious by such an act to rid himself of the disease altogether? Were such the case, he might have succeeded just as well in leaving the infected amidst the enemy. It would have been vain to demonstrate that an obdurate and egoist Chief would have completely disencumbered himself by leaving these sufferers behind him; they would have been mutilated and massacred, it is true; no one, however, thought for a moment of reproaching him on that head." All such efforts, I say, would have been ineffectual; so potent and infallible are the effects of falsehood, and the declamation of those who are the tools of uncontrouled passions. The supposed

crime will yet remain in every mouth ; it will be graven upon the imagination, and for the grand mass of the people remains for ever a fact undoubted and incontrovertibly proved.

“ What will astonish those who do not know how necessary it is to be aware of yielding to public rumour, and I with pleasure insert the statement to show in what manner history may be committed to paper, is that the Grand-Marshal Bertrand, who was himself with the army of Egypt, being then, indeed, in a subordinate station, and very far removed from the person of the General-in-Chief, had himself accredited the account of the poisoning exercised upon sixty infected soldiers until his arrival at Saint Helena. The account was spread and even believed in the army ; so that, what answer could be made to such as triumphantly stated :—“ It is incontestibly true, I have it from the very officers who formed a part of the expedition.” And yet the whole is false ; as I shall now demonstrate from what I have gathered from the most elevated authority—from the mouth of Napoleon himself.”

*First*, the number of the infected consisted only of seven.

*Secondly*, it was not the General-in-Chief, but a member of the profession, who, at the moment when the crisis arrived, proposed the administration of opium.

*Thirdly*, that the opium was not given to a single patient.

*Fourthly*, that, the retreat being slowly effected, the *arriere* guard was left at Jaffa ; and,

*Fifthly*, that, when they marched away, the sick had expired, with the exception of one or two whom the English found living.

N. B. “ Since my return to Paris, from St. Helena,” says the Count Las Cases, “ having had every facility of conversing with those who, from their profession, were the main actors in this affair—those whose depositions

must by right pass for official and authentic, having had the curiosity to examine into the minutest details; the following statement is what I collected :—

“ The sick, dependent on the surgeon-in-chief; that is to say, the wounded, were all removed from Jaffa, with the assistance of the horses of the staff, not excepting those of the General-in-Chief, who, for a long period, marched on foot with the rest of the army; consequently, those are out of the question.”

“ In regard to the rest, depending on the physician-in-chief, to the number of about twenty, all in the most dangerous state, without hope of recovery, and unable to sustain removal, while the enemy was fast approaching; it is true, Napoleon inquired of the doctor, whether it would not be an act of humanity to administer opium to them; nor is it less certain, the answer made by the physician was, that his duty consisted in curing and not killing; a reply which seemed rather delivered as if an order had been issued, than merely resulting from common discussion, and which may have served as a foundation for malevolence and bad faith to fabricate and disseminate the fable which has been so much the theme of conversation.”

“ Be this, however, as it may, from the accounts I have collected, the following has incontestibly proved the result :—

*First*, no order was issued to administer poison to the sick at Jaffa.

*Secondly*, at the period in question there was not a single grain of opium in the medicine chests of the army for the use of the sick: and,

*Thirdly*, had the order been issued, and the drug procurable, existing circumstances and the local situations, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, would have rendered the execution impossible.

In a pamphlet, published by Viscount Ebrington, detailing two conversations between himself and Napoleon,



at Porto Ferrajo, in reference to this topic, his Lordship gives the following statement:—

“ He (Napoleon) spoke with apparent pleasure of Egypt, and described humorously enough his admission, and that of his army, to Mahometanism, on receiving from the men of the law, after many meetings and grave discussions at Cairo, a dispensation from being circumcised, and a permission to drink wine, under the condition of their doing a good action after each draught. ‘ You can hardly imagine,’ said he, ‘ the advantages which I gained in the country from this adoption of their cast.’ I mentioned Sir Robert Wilson’s statement of his having poisoned his sick: he answered, ‘ *Il y a dans cela quelque fondement de vrai.*’ “ In this there is some “ foundation in truth; three or four men of the army “ had the plague: they could not have lived twenty- “ four hours; I was about to march; I consulted Desge- “ nettes as to the means of removing them. He said, “ that it must be attended with some risk of infection, “ and would be useless to them, as they were past re- “ covery. I then recommended him to give them a dose “ of opium, rather than leave them to the mercy of the “ Turks. ‘ *Il me répondit en fort honnête homme, que son métier étoit de guérir et non de tuer;*’ he answered “ me as a truly honest man, that his business was to cure “ and not to kill; so the men were left to their fate. “ Perhaps he was right, though I asked for them, what “ I should, under similar circumstances, have wished my “ best friend to have done for me. I have often thought “ since on this point of *morale*, and have conversed on it “ with others, ‘ *et je crois qu’au fond il vaut toujours mieux souffrir qu’un homme finisse sa destinée quelle qu’elle soit;*’ “ and I believe if thoroughly considered, it is always “ better to suffer a man to terminate his destiny, be it “ what it may. I judged so afterwards, in the case of “ my friend Duroc, who, when his bowels were falling “ out before my eyes, repeatedly cried to me to have him

“ put out of his misery. ‘ *Je lui dis, je vous plains, mon ami, mais il n’y a pas de remède, il faut souffrir jusqu’à la fin.*’ I said to him I pity you my friend, but there is no remedy; it is necessary to suffer to the last. I then asked him about the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa: he answered, ‘ *C’est vrai—j’en fis fusiller à peu près deux mille.—Vous trouvez cela un peu fort—mais je leur avois accordé une capitulation à El Arish, a condition qu’ils retourneroient chez eux. Ils l’ont rompue et se sont jetés dans Jaffa où je les pris par assault. Je ne pouvois les emmener prisonniers avec moi, car je manquois de pain, et ils étoient des diables trop dangereux pour les lâcher une seconde fois, de sorte que je n’avois d’autre moyen que de les tuer.*’ It is true, I caused about two thousand to be shot:—You think that going too far, but I had accorded them a capitulation at El Arish, on condition that they would return to their homes. They broke this engagement and threw themselves into Jaffa, where I took them by assault. I could not march them away prisoners, for I was in want of bread, and the devils were too dangerous to give them their liberty a second time; so that I had no other means left but to despatch them.”

On the 28th of May the army marched from Jaffa; the division of General Regnier formed the left column, and proceeded by Ramlé, the head-quarters. The divisions of Generals Bon and Lannes took the central route; the inhabitants of the country between Jaffa and Gaza had been guilty of all sorts of excesses; the general order given to the columns was to burn the villages as they proceeded, and lay waste the adjacent country. The cavalry proceeded along the right, parallel with the coast; they scourged the downs, and drove in all the cattle that had there been collected. The division of General Kleber formed the rear-guard, and did not leave Jaffa till the 20th. In this order the army marched as far as Kan-

Jouness; the surrounding plains presented a continued blaze of fire, but the recollection of the plunder of the convoys, and the atrocities exercised against the French, by the inhabitants of these countries, abundantly justified this terrible retaliation.

The army encamped on the 29th at El-Majdal, and arrived the next day at Gaza. The inhabitants of this town conducted themselves with propriety, their persons and properties were therefore respected. The fort was blown up, and, on the 31st, the army proceeded towards Kan-Jouness, where it arrived the same day. On the 1st of June the French entered upon the desert, followed by an immense number of cattle, taken from the enemy, and intended to provision El-Arish. The desert between Kan-Jouness and this fortress is about eleven leagues in extent. It is inhabited by some Arabian brigands, of whom Bonaparte had much to complain; the troops burned their camps, brought away their cattle and camels, and destroyed the small harvests that were collected in some parts of the desert. On the 2d the army halted at El-Arish, a post of considerable importance. Bonaparte ordered the ancient fortifications to be strengthened, and new works erected for its defence; he left a garrison in the place, and having amply supplied it with ammunition, stores, and provisions, continued his march to Cathieh, where the army arrived on the 4th, after suffering excessively from a want of water. The divisions arrived in succession, but the wells yielded less, and that of a worse quality, than when the army first passed through the town. The magazines at Cathieh were amply furnished; the army remained there two days, and, in the interval, the General-in-Chief went to inspect the posts at Tineth, Pelusium, and the mouth of Ommfaredge, on the lake Menzale when he ordered a fort to be erected near Tineth, in order to secure the command of the mouth of Ommfaredge; he also left a considerable garrison at

Cathieh, and united the command of the place to that of El-Arish under a General of Brigade.\*

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\* We insert a fourth official letter of Sir W. S. Smith's relative to the raising the siege of St. John d'Acre, the retreat of the French, &c.

"MY LORD, "*Tigre, at anchor off Jaffa, 30th May, 1799.*

"The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army; the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate of themselves to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after their capture; and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Bonaparte's extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last despatch of the 9th instant, are as follow:—Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the Princes and Chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the Sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them, at the same time, a copy of Bonaparte's impious Proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight and that of an unprincipled renegade. This letter had all the effects I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship, but obedience; assuring me, that in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Bonaparte's career farther northward effectually stopped by a warlike people inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent eastward, towards the fords of Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had, by its firmness and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of ten thousand men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Bonaparte came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

The Turkish Chiflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the gar-

On the 6th of June the army continued its march, the head-quarters were removed on the next day, in order to

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den, made a fresh sally the next night, Soliman Aga, the Lieutenant-Colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Bonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Bonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time; however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour, and of war. A flag of truce was sent into the town by the hand of an Arab Dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should consequently be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the General who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, whence I sent him back to the General, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant. I had above said, that the battering train of artillery, (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium twelve-pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were

proceed to Salehieh. The division of General Kleber repaired to Tineth, for the purpose of embarking on the

embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise together with the worst among the two thousand wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered strait to his Majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such farther aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to give to so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their General, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the Proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his Aid-de-camp, Mr. Lallemand, having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a General has recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch.

The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole tract between Acre and Gaza is strewn with dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van column of the retreating army on its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear when it turned inland to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry from behind the sand-hills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Bonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplousians. The English flag, rehoisted on the Consul's house (under which the Pacha met me), serves as an asylum for all religions, and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen lying on the bodies of those whom they had massacred two months ago, afford an-

lake Menzale for Damietta. The other divisions of the army took the route to Cairo, where they arrived on the 14th of June. The grandees of that city, the people, and the garrison came forth to greet the French, who then drew up in form for parade. They were astonished to behold troops in the highest order, and presenting a brilliant appearance, who had just traversed a desert, and suffered a toilsome and sanguinary campaign of four months; a sight so gratifying, but so unexpected, produced a scene truly affecting, that of dear friends and respected comrades, impressed with the most lively, even an enthusiastic joy, at once more seeing and embracing each other. The city of Cairo was, in effect, to the French as a second country; its inhabitants universally receiving them as brothers.\*

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other proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just despatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions of which I am not absolutely master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musquetry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your Lordship by Lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theusus, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and coadjutor Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of Lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

*Right Hon. Lord Nelson, Rear Admiral of the Blue, &c.*

\* Napoleon remarked to Comte Las Cases, that if he could have united the Mamelukes to the French in Egypt, he would have looked

Numberless extravagant and unfounded reports were maliciously disseminated at Cairo respecting the condition of the army; it was at length described as reduced to a handful of wounded and dying men: what a contrast did it present? The following is a correct statement.\*

The army engaged in the Syrian expedition lost, in

upon himself as master of the world. *"With that select band and the common herd, recruited in the territory and distributed as necessity required, I know of nothing that I could not have overturned. Algiers trembled at the idea! But if ever your Sultan"* (meaning Bonaparte), said the Dey of Algiers to the French Consul, *"should take it into his head to pay us a visit, where would be our security? for he has defeated the Mamelukes."* Napoleon then observed: *"The Mamelukes throughout the East were at once the objects of veneration and of terror, they constituted a Militia that had been regarded as invincible even among ourselves."*

\* Napoleon, says Comte Las Cases, remarked, that when his expedition to Syria was made known, it was taken for granted at Grand Cairo that he would never return; and upon this occasion, he related the following audacious robbery committed by a Chinese dwarf, who was in his service. *"He was a little deformed dwarf,"* said Bonaparte, *"who had served to amuse Josephine at Paris. He was the only Chinese resident in the French Capital, and used to attend behind her carriage. She also had him with her in Italy; but being in the habit of thieving she did not know what to do with him. In order to rid her of this nuisance, I took him with me to Egypt, and when at Cairo the little monster had the superintendence of my wine-cellar. No sooner had I traversed the desert, than he sold, for a very moderate sum, two thousand bottles of the most delicious Bordeaux wine, only seeking to amass wealth under the persuasion that I should never return. When my arrival was announced, he was not in the least disconcerted, but ran to meet me, and made known to me, in the style of a faithful servant, the dilapidations that had been committed on my wines which he attributed, with unblushing effrontery, to all such as he deemed expedient. The cheat was so flagrant that he was immediately convicted on his own evidence. I was pressed from all quarters to have him hanged, but I did not follow the advice, because in that case it would have been no more than an act of justice to have executed all the wearers of embroidered coats who had knowingly partaken of the wines. I was satisfied with discarding him from my service, and banishing him to Suez, there to do the best he could for himself."*

Speaking of his first idea of becoming a conspicuous figure in the world, Bonaparte stated to Comte Las Cases, that it was not until after he affair of the bridge of Lodi he entertained any ambitious views, which were strengthened on the soil of Egypt at the battle of the Pyramids, and on his gaining possession of Cairo, &c. *"Then"* exclaimed Napoleon *"I really thought that I might indulge myself with dreams of the most brilliant and portentous achievements, &c."*



the course of four months, seven hundred men by the plague, and about five hundred killed in battle. The number of the wounded were, certainly, at least eighteen hundred, but of these not more than ninety suffered amputation: almost all the others were likely to be soon cured, and in a condition to join their respective corps.

Our losses by the plague were especially made the subject of interested or malicious exaggeration. When the army arrived in Syria, the towns were in general infected by this malady, one which ignorance and barbarity renders so deplorably fatal in these countries. Those who are affected by it generally give themselves up for dead,\* every one abandons, and flies from them, and they are left to perish, when the aids of medicine and a proper degree of attention would have saved their lives. The principle of fatalism, by which these people are guided, contributes not a little to prevent their recurrence to medical assistance. The French soldiers were not without strong prejudices in this respect; the slightest fever was by them deemed to be the plague, and they considered themselves as infected by an incurable malady. Desgenettes, chief physician to the army, closely attended the hospitals, visited every patient himself, and tranquillized their apprehensions. He maintained that the glandular swellings, which were taken to be symptoms, of the plague, were those of a species of malignant fever,

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\* We are informed by Count Las Cases, that Napoleon conceived the plague was caught by aspiration as well as by the touch; and he maintained that the greatest danger and cause of the infection spreading arose from fear; that its principal seat was in the imagination: all those, he remarked, who gave way to terror uniformly perished. Its principal remedy was moral fortitude. He then stated, the having touched some infected with the plague when at Jaffa, and that many were saved by being deceived as to the real nature of their malady for the space of two months. Napoleon further observed that the best means of preserving the army was to proceed on the march, giving the soldiers great exercise; as fatigue and keeping the mind occupied were found to be the best guarantees against the infection.

which might easily be cured by care and attention, and keeping the patient's mind easy. He even went so far as to inoculate himself, in presence of the patients, with the suppurated matter from one of these buboes, and proceeded to cure himself by the same remedies which he administered to them.\*

Every species of heroism was exhibited in this fine army; but the philanthropic devotion of the illustrious Desgenettes ranked among the most generous and the most useful. After having restored to the soldiers that tranquillity of mind so necessary to convalescence, he perfected, by his care, assiduity, and the exertion of his talents, that cure which he so happily undertook, and the far greater number of his patients were completely restored.

So glorious an example necessarily had its influence upon the other officers of health; the conduct of Larrey, chief surgeon to the army, before adverted to, merits the highest eulogium, in the zeal and activity which he unremittingly displayed in the performance of his painful duties. He has been seen, together with his worthy assistants, dressing the unfortunate wounded even at the foot of the breach, and under the fire of the enemy. Several of these professional heroes were wounded while thus nobly employed, and one or two were killed, but nothing could diminish their patriotic ardour and devotion.

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\* In Baron Larrey's Memoirs he mentions, as a kind of phenomena, or, at all events, as a very remarkable circumstance, that on the retreat from Saint John D'Acre, the emergency of circumstances having necessitated the medical men to diminish the quantity of food given to the sick and wounded, consisting merely of cakes and biscuits, while their only beverage was brackish water; that, notwithstanding this, they traversed sixty leagues across the desert without any accident, while nearly the whole were recovered on regaining the soil of Egypt. He attributes this species of prodigy to direct or indirect exercise, to the dry heat of the desert, and, above all, to the excessive joy that was experienced by the soldiers on once more regaining a territory that was become to them a species of second mother country.

## CHAP. II.

*M. Miol's Account of the sacrificing the Turkish Prisoners at Jaffa—Curious Statements respecting the Siege of Acre—Denon's Narrative continued—Town of Syut, or Lycopolis—Character of the Lybian Range of Mountains—Ancient excavated Tombs—Doom Palm-tree—The Red and White Coptic Convents—Large Town of Girgeh, and Abundance of Provisions—Conversation with a Nubian Prince—Thieving Disposition of the Egyptians—Arabian Tales, and Manner of relating them—Baths—Thunder in Egypt—Arrival of the Flotilla—Battle with the Mamelukes at Samanhut—Pursuit of Murad-Bey—Approach to Tentyra—Character of Egyptian Architecture—Magnificent Portico—Style of the Ornaments and Hieroglyphics—Crocodiles in the River—Astonishing Effect of the first Approach of Thebes—General Site of the Monuments and the Necropolis—Colossal Statues of Memnon and Osymandyas—Names of eminent Visitors inscribed—Palace of Medinet—Abu—Singular Tamarisk-tree—Sudden Contraction of the Nile—Beautiful Portico at Esneh, or Latopolis—Hieraconpolis—Etfu—First View of Appollinopolis Magna—Harassing March through the Desert—Village of Biuban and affecting Incidents—Further Details respecting the Troops attacked by the Plague at Jaffa—Dreadful State of a dying Soldier—Proclamation of NAPOLEON from the Divan at Cairo—BONAPARTE's Reference to the Egyptian Expedition of Saint Louis—His Perusal of the Book of Judith, and Opinions of the Religions of Mahomet and of Jesus Christ.*

WE have before remarked, that no period of Napoleon's career was more astonishing than his Egyptian campaign; and it is that conviction which prompts us to think that every circumstance relative to this eventful period of his

life should be recorded ; and we, consequently, proceed to give the following details relative to his Syrian expedition, which it was not possible to condense in the course of the preceding chapters without confusing the mind of the reader. We shall begin by a quotation from the Journal of J. M. Miot, who, detailing the sacrifice of the Turkish prisoners, at Jaffa, concerning which we spoke in our last chapter, thus expresses himself.

" It is here that I must undertake a most painful recital. The frankness, I will venture to say the candour, which may be observed in these memoirs, make it a duty that I should not pass over in silence the event which I am about to relate, and of which I was an eye-witness. If I have pledged myself in writing this work, not to judge the actions of the man who will be judged by posterity, I have also undertaken to reveal every thing which may enlighten opinion concerning him. It is just therefore that I should repeat the motives which were enforced at the time, to authorise a determination so cruel as that which decided the fate of the prisoners at Jaffa. Behold then the considerations which seem to have provoked it. The army, already weakened by its loss at the sieges of El-Arish and of Jaffa, was still more so by disease, whose ravages became from day to day more alarming. It had great difficulties in maintaining itself, and the soldier rarely received his full ration. This want of the means of subsistence augmented, in consequence of the evil disposition of the inhabitants towards us. To feed the Jaffa prisoners, while we kept them with us, was not only to increase our necessities, but constantly encumber our own movements ; to confine them at Jaffa would, without removing the first inconvenience, have created another—the possibility of a revolt ; considering the small force that could have been left to garrison that place : to send them into Egypt would have been obliging ourselves to dismiss a considerable detachment, which would greatly have reduced the force of the expedition : to set them at

liberty upon their parole, notwithstanding all the engagements into which they could have entered, would have been despatching them to increase the strength of our enemies, and particularly the garrison of St. John of Acre; for Dgezzar was not a man to respect promises made by his soldiers, men little religious themselves as to a point of honour of which they knew not the force. There consequently remained only one course which reconciled every thing; it was frightful; however it appears to have been deemed necessary.

On the 10th of March, in the afternoon, the Jaffa prisoners were put in motion in the midst of a vast square battalion formed by the troops of General Bon's division. A dark rumour of the fate which was prepared for them, determined me, as well as many other persons, to mount on horseback, and follow this silent column of victims, to satisfy myself whether what had been reported was well founded. The Turks marching pell-mell, already foresaw their fate; they shed no tears; they uttered no cries; they were resigned. Some, who were wounded, and could not march so fast as the rest, were bayoneted on the way; others went about the crowd, and appeared to be giving salutary advice in this imminent danger. Perhaps, the boldest might have thought that it would not be impossible to break through the battalion which surrounded them: perhaps they hoped that in dispersing over the plains which they were crossing, a certain number might escape death. Every means had been taken to prevent this, and the Turks made no attempt to fly. Having reached the sand-hills to the west of Jaffa they were halted near a pool of stagnant and dirty water. The officer who commanded the troops then had the mass divided into small bodies, and these being led to many different parts were there shot. This horrible operation required much time, notwithstanding the number of troops employed in the dreadful sacrifice: I owe it to those soldiers to declare that they did not, without extreme repugnance, submit to the abominable service

which was required from their victorious hands. There was a group of prisoners near the pool of water, among whom were some old chiefs of a noble and resolute courage, and one young man whose intrepidity was dreadfully shaken. At so tender an age he must have believed himself innocent, and that feeling hurried him on to an action which appeared to shock those about him. He threw himself at the feet of the horse which the chief of the French troops rode, and embraced the knees of that officer, imploring him to spare his life, and exclaiming, 'Of what am I guilty? What evil have I done?' His tears, his affecting cries were unavailing; they could not change the fatal sentence pronounced upon his lot. With the exception of this young man, all the other Turks made their ablutions calmly in the stagnant pool of which I have spoken, then taking each other by the hand, after having laid it upon the heart and the lips, according to their manner of salutation, they gave and received an eternal adieu. Their courageous spirits appeared to defy death; you saw in their tranquillity the confidence which in those last moments was inspired by their religion, and the hope of a happy futurity. They seemed to say, I quit this world to go and enjoy with Mahommed eternal felicity. Thus the reward after this life which the Koran promises supported the Mussulman, conquered indeed, but still proud in his adversity.

"I saw a respectable old man whose tone and manners announced superior rank. I beheld him coolly order a hole to be made before him in the loose sand, deep enough to bury his body alive; doubtless he did not choose to die by any other hands than those of his own people: within this protecting and melancholy grave he laid himself upon his back; and his comrades addressing their supplicatory prayers to God, covered him presently with sand, and trampled afterwards upon the soil which served for a winding sheet, probably with the idea of accelerating the end of his sufferings. This spectacle,

which still makes my heart palpitate, and which I paint but too feebly, took place during the execution of the parties distributed about the sand-hills. At length there remained no more of all the prisoners than those who were placed near the pool of water. Our soldiers had exhausted their cartridges; and it was necessary to destroy them with the bayonet and the sword. I could not support this horrible sight, but hastened away, pale and almost fainting. Some officers informed me in the evening that these unhappy men, yielding to that irresistible impulse of nature which makes us shrink from death even when we have no longer a hope of escaping, strove to get one behind another, and received in their limbs, the blows aimed at the heart, which would at once have terminated their wretched lives. There was then formed a dreadful pyramid of the dead and of the dying streaming with blood, and it was found necessary to drag away the bodies of those who had already expired, in order to finish the wretches who, under cover of this frightful and shocking rampart, had not yet been despatched. This picture is exact and faithful; and the recollection makes my hand tremble, although the whole horror is not described.

“ We returned to the camp before Acre, and learned, on our arrival, that Rear-admiral Perée had been fortunate enough to land some battering pieces at Jaffa, which were brought from thence with infinite difficulty. Never could any troops regard their artillery with more delight; even the peasantry shared our joy, and exulted in the promised victory which was to punish Djezzar for his cruelties. BONAPARTE pointed to the place, and said to Murat, ‘The fate of the East is in that paltry town; its fall is the object of my expedition, and Damascus will be the fruits.’ I was then in Murat’s tent. Being in the cavalry he had little to do, and we lived as luxuriously as we could. We rose between six and seven; *la toilette précédoit peu d’instans*; we breakfasted about ten, and the

morning was consecrated to service. About noon we went to the camp to learn the news, or to pay visits; about three we returned, and dined between four and five, preserving the customs of our country. General Murat's table was in great request, because of the wine which we had collected in our different incursions. After dinner we took Mocha coffee, and smoked Latakia tobacco, lying *al fresco* under the great tent which we had taken at the Jordan. It was not made like other tents; the base did not touch the ground, and might be opened on different sides, so as to permit a current of air while it shielded us from the sun; there we lay, our conversation generally turning upon women, pleasure, and France, these three topics being then synonymous with us, as one or other sufficed to chase away the idea of our disagreeable position. In the evening we retired to the closed tent, and often during the night had the majestic but afflicting spectacle of the *fusillade* which was going on under the walls of Acre; the shells that were traversing the air, and the fire-pans which the besieged every moment threw down the ramparts to dispense light around the fort and preserve themselves from any surprise. At last, after having examined the interior of our dormitory to drive out the scorpions which introduced themselves there during the day, we both lay down in the sweet hope of seeing Acre taken and our labours terminated.\*

Three attacks had now been made upon the accursed tower of Acre, the one upon our arrival; the second before the battle of Esdron; and the third a few days afterwards. The same tower was still the object of attack,

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\* M. Denon's narrative continues as follows:—SIUT is a large well-peopled town, built on the site of Lycopolis. But where is this animal of northern climates found here? Is it a worship borrowed from the Greeks, the account of which we have received from the Romans, who, knowing but little of natural history, have confounded the jackal with the wolf? No antiquities are found in this town, but the Lybian chain, at the foot of which it stands, here exhibits such



and always attended with the same ill success. The engineers now began a new mine; Caffarelli, going to

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a vast number of tombs, that without doubt this place occupies the territory of some very ancient and flourishing city. We arrived here an hour after noon, and employed the remainder of the day in procuring food for the army, in exercising the sick, and in taking possession of barks and provisions, which the Mamelukes had not been able to carry away with them.

I hastened to visit the Lybian chain of hills, so eager was I to explore an Egyptian mountain. The rocks are near half a league from Siut; and in the road is a very pretty house of the kiachef, who was agent for Soliman-Bey. The rocks are excavated by a vast number of tombs of different dimensions, and decorated with more or less magnificence, which leaves no doubt of the proximity of the ancient site of some considerable town. All the inner porches of these grottoes are covered with hieroglyphics; months would be required to read them, even if one knew the language; and it would take years to copy them. I observed on entering the first porch, that all the elegancies of ornament which the Greeks have employed in their architecture, all the waving lines, the scrolls, and other forms, are here executed with taste and exquisite delicacy. If one of these excavations was a single operation, as the uniform regularity of the plan of each would seem to indicate, it must have been an immense labour to construct a tomb; but we may suppose that, when once finished, it would serve for ever for the sepulture of a whole family or even race, and that some religious worship was regularly paid to the dead; otherwise where would have been the use of such finished ornaments of inscriptions never read, and of a ruinous, secret, and buried splendour? At different periods or annual festivals, or when some new inhabitant was added to the tombs, funeral rites were doubtless performed, in which the pomp of ceremony might vie with the magnificence of the place; which is the more probable, as the richness of decoration in the interior part forms a most striking contrast with the outer walls, which are only the rough native rock. I found one of these caves, with a single saloon, in which were an innumerable quantity of graves cut in the rock in regular order: they had been ransacked to procure the mummies; and I found several fragments of their contents, such as linen, hands, feet, and loose bones.

Besides these principal grottoes, there is such a countless number of smaller excavations, that the whole rock is cavernous and resounds under the foot. Further on to the south, are remains of large quarries, the cavities of which are supported by pilasters: some of these have been the abode of pious hermits, who in these vast retreats, united the austere aspect of an inhabitant of the desert to the gentle majesty of one who partakes of the bounties bestowed by a river, which dispenses to its banks plenty and fertility. This was the emblem of their life; before their retreat, cares, wealth, agitation; afterwards calm and contemplative enjoyments; the silence of nature too imitated the reserve to which they were compelled: in these regions the unchanging and august splendour of the sky forcibly impels to con-

inspect it, leant his right arm upon the top of the trenches : the soldiers on guard begged him instantly to

stant but chastened admiration ; the dawn of day is not enlivened by the cries of joy or the bounding of animals ; the song of no bird proclaims the return of morn ; even the lark, which in our climates enlivens and animates our fallows, in these burning regions only calls to his mate, but never chants his happiness ; the grave dignity of Nature seems to inspire with the deep sense of humble acknowledgement, so that the grotto of the cenobite appears to have been placed here by the order and choice of the Deity himself ; and every animated being partakes with him in his grave and silent meditation.

Small niches, stucco facings, a few red paintings representing crosses, and some inscriptions in a language which I took to be Coptic, are the only remains which give evidence to the former habitation of the austere cenobites in these gloomy cells. In the season in which we visited them, nothing was comparable to the exquisite verdure of the banks of the Nile, which embellished the shore with various hues of beautiful green as far as the eye could reach. My curiosity had led me so far from head-quarters, that I could not regain them before the march.

It is always attended with some embarrassment when a large army quits a town. We set out the next morning before day-break. All our guides had joined the same division, a circumstance which caused ours to wander at random, and it was some time before we were collected. We followed the sinuosities of the canal of Abu-Assi, which is the last of Upper Egypt, and so considerable in size, that it might be deemed as an arm of the Nile, dividing with this river the extent of the valley, which in this day's march appeared to be no more than a league in breadth, but cultivated with greater care and skill than in any part which we had yet traversed : we found several roads marked out, which convinced us that they might, with very little expense, be rendered excellent, and most completely durable, in a country where neither rain nor frost are ever witnessed. At every half league we found wells with a small monument of hospitality, in which we could allay the thirst of man and horse. Towards the middle of the day we approached the desert, where I found three new objects ; one was the *doum* palm-tree, which differs from the date palm, it having from eight to fifteen stems instead of only a single one, and its ligneous fruit is attached by clusters to the extremity of the principal branches, whence proceed numerous tufts, forming the foliage of the tree. The fruit is of a triangular form, and of the size of an egg ; the first, or outer coat, is spongy, and eats like the carobe ; the taste is sweetish, like honey, resembling the flavor of spice bread ; under this coat is a hard bark, filamentous like the cocoa-nut, which it resembles more than any other fruit ; but it wants the fine hard ligneous shell of the cocoa ; its gelatinous part is tasteless ; it becomes very hard by drying, and beads are made of it, strung upon chaplets, which take a good dye and polish.

I also saw a charming little bird, which by its shape and habitudes should be arranged in the class of *fly-catchers* ; it seized and devoured

remove it, for they assured him that the enemy were alert in seeing and expert in aiming at the smallest mark

those insects with admirable address. Thanks to the indolence of the Turks, all birds are familiar in their country; for though they love nothing, they disturb nothing: the colour of that I have just mentioned is a clear and lively green; the head and feathers beneath the wings, golden; the beak, long, black, and pointed: in the tail it has one feather about half an inch longer than the rest; the size of the bird is similar to the small titmouse.

A little further off I observed in the desert some swallows of a clear grey colour, like that of the sand over which they were flying; these do not emigrate, or at least only go into similar climates; we never see any of them in Europe of this colour; they are of the species of the wheat-ear.

After marching thirteen hours, we arrived in the evening at Gamerrissiem, unfortunately for this village; for the cries of the women soon convinced us that our soldiers, profiting by the darkness of the night, under pretence of seeking provisions, and notwithstanding their weariness, were enjoying by violence the gratifications which the place offered them: the inhabitants, pillaged, dishonoured, and urged to desperation, fell upon the patrols whom we sent to defend them: and these, attacked by the furious natives, were killing them in their own defence, for want of being able to explain their object, and to make themselves understood.—O war! thou art brilliant in history, but frightful when viewed with all thy attending horrors, naked, and undisguised.

On the 28th we skirted the edge of the desert, which was bordered by a succession of villages. In spite of the cold which we felt during the night, the heat of the day, and the productions of the earth, gave us notice that we were approaching the tropic: the barley was ripe, the wheat in ear, and the melons planted in the open field, were already in full flower. We spent the night in the wood near Narcette.

On the 29th we crossed a desert, and passed by a Coptic convent, fired by the Mamelukes on the preceding evening, and which was still burning, so as to prevent me from entering; but it resembled in all its parts the white convent a short distance off, and situated also under the mountain, at the border of the desert, which I shall presently describe. The first is called the *Red Convent*, because it is built of brick; the other the *White Convent*, being constructed of stone; this latter had also been set on fire the preceding evening; but the monks in escaping had left the gates open, and some of their servants were rescuing what they could from the ruins.

The erection of this edifice is attributed to Saint Helena. The church was the only building left standing, but there had doubtless been a monastery attached to it. This had long since disappeared, but the church had been built more strongly, and might with a few pieces of cannon on the walls, easily resist the attacks of the Arabs, or even the Mamelukes. But the poor monks, being without arms, could only oppose to oppression their patience, sanctity, resignation, and especially their poverty, which would have saved them on any

which presented itself. The general did not attend to the warning, and presently his elbow, which was all that

other occasion; in the present case, however, the Mamelukes revenged themselves on catholics, for the evils which they had experienced from other catholics, as if they could by this injustice make up for the loss which we had occasioned them. We perceived in the ruins produced by this catastrophe some charcoal, which remained from the burning of the wood-yard; and the urgent necessities of insatiable war compelled us also to take away these wrecks of the devastation of which we had been the real cause.

Since the first destruction of the convent the monks had made their dwellings in the lateral gallery of the church, if dwellings they might be called, which were only wretched huts, set up under those splendid porches; it was misery in the very palace of pride.

Nothing can be more picturesque than the situation of these establishments on the edge of the desert, but commanding a view of the rich country, watered by the canal of Abu-assi, and of the architecture of these edifices of the fourth century, and consequently nearly two thousand years posterior to the grand monuments of high Egyptian antiquity. The gravity of style here displayed, the cornices, and the gates, are absolutely the same as the primitive architecture; the general outline is good, excepting some deficiencies in the choir, in which may be observed the decay of taste. We encamped in the evening at Bonnasé Bura.

The ensuing day we returned along the Nile, and crossed the field of battle, in which during the last war between the Turks and the Mamelukes, Assan-Basha was beaten by Murad-Bey, where the latter, with five thousand Mamelukes, overthrew, and routed eighteen thousand Turks and three thousand Mamelukes. Malem-Jacob, a copt, who accompanied us as our steward, was a spectator of this battle, and had taken a share in it; he explained to us all the particulars. He showed us with what superiority of talent Murad had gained his advantage and profited by it; the very same Murad-Bey, who was now flying before fifteen hundred infantry. As we were descanting on the vicissitudes of fortune, drawn on by the eagerness of conversation we had very imprudently, as was our usual custom, got half a league before the army. I said in jest to Desaix, that it would be very ridiculous to have it told in history, that he had lost his head in a rencontre with half a dozen Mamelukes, and that for my part I should be inconsolable in leaving mine behind a bush, where it would be forgotten. At this time we were passing out of Minchia, when Adjutant Clement came to inform the General that there were Mamelukes in the village, and indeed we presently saw first two; then six, soon after fourteen, and two behind, along with their baggage: they quickly observed us: if we retreated we should be carried off, as the country was enclosed; Desaix, therefore, put a good face on the matter, and appeared to be making his arrangements: he had four fusiliers whom he placed alternately on each side, to increase the appearance of our force: we got some ditches between us and the enemy; we gained time, and at last our advanced guard came up, and they retired. We were told that Murad was waiting for us at Girgeh; we heard loud cries, and saw clouds of dust ascend. Desaix

he exposed, was shattered. It was immediately amputated; this was the second limb which he had lost, and

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thought that at last he was going to obtain the battle which he had been seeking so painfully for the last fortnight; I was despatched to hasten up the infantry. While galloping along, I just perceived an ancient embankment on the edge of the Nile, and flights of steps descending into two basins—were they the ruins of Ptolemais? A cannon was fired as a signal to the cavalry, who were a league distant, to rejoin us, and in half an hour we were ready either for attack or defence. We marched in order of battle up to the spot where the greatest number had collected, but they dispersed; the Mamelukes themselves disappeared, and we thus arrived at Girgeh, without being able to come up with the enemy.

Here the reader will perhaps exclaim, that he sees no account of Aphroditopolis, Crocodilopolis, Ptolemais—and will accuse me for the total absence of all information upon these interesting subjects! But let him be pleased to recollect, that we were surrounded by Arabs and Mamelukes, and that, in all probability, I should be made prisoner, pillaged and killed, if I ventured only a hundred paces from the column to fetch some of the bricks of Aphroditopolis. The embanked quay which I saw in galloping to Minchia, was Ptolemais, and no other remains of this town exist. But we are about to visit a soil entirely new to the curious traveller, and to inspect the places which Herodotus himself has only described from the reports that were delivered to him.

Girgeh, where we arrived two hours after noon, is the capital of Upper Egypt: it is a modern town and as large as Minyeh and Melai, but less than Siut. The name of Girgeh, or Djergeh, is derived from a large monastery built previously to the town, and dedicated to St. George, which is pronounced *Girgeh* in the language of the country. The convent still exists, and we found in it European monks. The Nile skirts the walls of Girgeh, and is constantly washing away a part of them. This town is interesting as being situated half way between Cairo and Syene, and in a very rich territory. We found all kinds of provisions, at a very low price; bread was one sous the pound; twelve eggs, two sous; two pigeons, three sous; a goose weighing fifteen pounds, we got at twelve sous;—could this be poverty? Such too was the abundance of these articles, that after more than five thousand of us had remained there three weeks, increased the consumption, and scattered money, no rise in the demand for these necessaries had in consequence taken place.

However, our boats did not arrive; we were in want of shoes and of biscuit; and the army therefore went into regular quarters, set up ovens, and prepared a barrack to station five hundred men. During this time of rest I experienced in my own case a great advantage in strengthening my eye-sight, which had become so indifferent as to threaten serious inconvenience. I had, indeed, no remedy with me; but I found a pot of honey, and a jar of vinegar, in the house of the sheik in which I lodged: these did me great service, for I ate abundantly of the former, and cooled the heat of my blood with the latter, which I drank largely, mixed with water and sugar.

he bore it with extreme courage. He died on the nineteenth day, after suffering amputation.

On the 3d of January we learnt that the peasants, seduced by the Mamelukes, were collected in order to attack us in the rear, whilst they were promised that we should be assaulted at the same time in front. They had but a month ago plundered a caravan of two hundred merchants, who were coming from India by the Red Sea, Cosseir, and Kouss; they therefore gave themselves great credit for their courage; forty of the neighbouring villages had assembled six or seven thousand men, but our cavalry charged them, sabred ten or twelve hundred of them, and thus put an end to their project.

We found at Girgeh a Nubian prince, a brother to the king of Darfur: he was returning from India, and going to rejoin another of his brothers, who was accompanying a caravan of Nubians of Sennar, with many women. He was transporting to Cairo elephants' teeth and gold dust, to barter against coffee, sugar, shawls, cloth, lead, iron, senna, and tamarinds. We had a long conversation with this young prince, who was lively, gay, impetuous, and clever; all which traits were perceptible in his physiognomy; his colour was deeper than bronze, his eyes were very fine and well set, his nose somewhat turned up and small, his mouth very wide but not flat, and his legs like those of all the Africans, bowed and lank. He told us that his brother was an ally of the king of Burnu, and traded with him, and that he was always at war with the people of Sennar. He likewise informed us, that it was forty days' journey from Darfur to Siut, during which time water was only to be met with once a week, either in the wells or in crossing the *oasis*. The profits of these caravans ought to be enormous to repay the expense and trouble of fitting them out, and to indemnify them for their very great fatigues. When their female slaves were not taken in war, they cost them one indifferent gun, and the men slaves two. He told us that it was very cold in his country at a certain time of the year, and having no word to express to us *ice*, he said that they eat a great deal of a substance which was hard when taken in the hands, and which slipped through the fingers when it was held there for some time. We inquired of him of Tombuctoo, that celebrated city, the existence of which is so problematical in Europe. He was not surprised at our questions. From his account Tombuctoo was at the south-west of his country, and its inhabitants came to trade with him: they were six months on their journey from Tombuctoo to Darfur, and purchased the various articles which he brought from Cairo, for which they gave gold dust in exchange. He added, that this country was called in their language the *paradise*; that the town of Tombuctoo was situated on the banks of a river, which flowed towards the west, and that the inhabitants were small of stature, and mild in disposition. We regretted much the impossibility of enjoying more time with this interesting traveller, but we could not indiscreetly urge him with questions, though he seemed to be perfectly well inclined to make us acquainted with all he knew, having nothing of the Mussulman gravity and taciturnity, and expressing himself with ease and energy. He told us, besides, that in his country the succession of the royal family was elective;

The privations of the army had now become so great, and the putridity of the dead and unburied bodies in the

that the military and civil chiefs, after the death of a king, chose out of his sons, him whom they thought most worthy to succeed to the throne; and that hitherto there had been no example of a civil war being produced by that custom.

All that I have been relating is, word for word, an authentic detail of the conversation which we had with this foreign prince. He added, that we had an infinite number of things to furnish Africa with, and that we should find them very willing to trade with us, without injuring the commerce which they kept up with each other: that we should attach them to our interests by all their wants, and by the exportation of the superfluity of our productions; that the trade with India, in like measure, might be carried on through Mecca, taking this town or that of Cosseir as a common *entrepôt*, in the same way as Aleppo is for the Mussulman states, notwithstanding the length of march required on each side to arrive at the common point of contact.

We waited daily for the barks which were to follow our march, having on board our provisions, ammunition, and the clothing for our troops. The wind, contrary to what generally prevails at this season, had been uniformly favourable for the arrival of the boats, and yet they were not come. We had despatched several expresses to gain some tidings concerning them; but the first that we sent had perished in passing through the revolted villages, and the others did not appear.

On the 9th of January, the tenth day after our arrival, General Desaix determined to send his cavalry to Siut, to know absolutely what was become of his maritime convoy. We had previously sent from Girgeh a battalion to Bardis, in quest of provision; the officer who commanded it informed us, on the evening of the ninth, that the Mamelukes had given out that on the eleventh they would march from Hau, to reach us on the next day; and that they were absolutely determined to give battle. This news was confirmed from every quarter.

Another pest with which we were much harassed, was a perpetual theft. No rigour of military execution could protect our arms or our horses. Every night the inhabitants stole into our camp like rats, and, lurking about, generally found an opportunity of seizing some article of plunder, and carrying it away with them. Some of the robbers had been caught in the very fact, and sacrificed to the rage of the soldiers on guard; it was hoped that this rigour would prove a salutary example; the sentinels were doubled, and yet on the same day two of the artillery forges were taken off; but the robbers were apprehended and shot immediately. In the night which followed this execution, the horses of the aid-de-camp of the general of cavalry were stolen: Desaix laid a wager that they would not touch any of his property, but the next day his horse also disappeared, and the plunderers had pulled down part of a wall in order to surprise the general himself, which failed only on account of day-light breaking before they were prepared.

On the 10th, we learnt that Murad-Bey had invited the Arab

trenches so offensive and contagious, that a most frightful mortality began to appear in the camp ; it was the plague,

sheiks of the villages which had submitted to us to rendezvous at Girgeh, and march against us. The 12th, the day on which we were to have been attacked, several of these sheiks sent us a letter, informing us that they remained faithful to their treaty, and denounced to us those who had promised to march for the purpose of joining Murad ; but the encounter which they had had with our cavalry disconcerted their plans.

The sky was cloudy on the 11th, and we suffered from it as if it were a sharp winter's day, though it would have been reckoned in Europe fine April weather ; so much is the absence of a blessing considered as a positive evil ! On this day, however, which we complained of so much, I saw a vine-stalk as green as in the month of July ; the leaves in this country only harden, become red and dry, whilst the end of the branch perpetually renews its verdure ; the creeping peas do the same, their stalks turn woody ; and I have seen some that were forty feet high, and had climbed to the summits of trees.

We learned also that there had arrived from Mecca, by the way of Cosseir, an innumerable troop of foot soldiers to join Murad-Bey, and that they were on their march to attack us.

On the 13th we were informed that our cavalry had fallen in with a number of the enemy at Menshieth, had put to the sword a thousand of those people, and had pursued their march. This was certainly not a lesson of fraternization ; but our position, perhaps, rendered an act of severity necessary : this province, which had always the reputation of being very turbulent and formidable, required to be taught that it could not brave us with impunity ; it was besides our policy to conceal from them, that our means were small, and our resources dispersed ; and to give them the impression of our being as vindictive when provoked as mild when treated with respect ; and that we should punish those severely who were disposed to doubt that all we did was finally for their own good.

We prepared to march as soon as our cavalry returned, whether our flotilla was to come at last, or whether we should be obliged to give it up altogether.

Still no tidings of our cavalry on the 14th. We amused ourselves with hearing Arabian tales, in order to kill time, and relieve our impatience. The Arabs relate stories so slowly, that our interpreters could follow them almost without interrupting the narrative. They retain the same passion for these tales as we have long been familiar with in the thousand and one tales of the sultana Scherassade ; and in this respect, Desaix and myself almost equalled the sultan ; his prodigious memory lost scarcely a single phrase of what he had heard ; and I forebore to write them down, as he promised to repeat them to me from memory, word for word. I observed, however, that if these relations were not rich in natural images and just sentiment, (a merit which seems to belong exclusively to the writers of the north,) they abound in extraordinary events and interesting situations, occasioned by high and strong passions : these writers make



and the knowledge of this calamity spread terror and despair throughout the army. It was in vain that the

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abundant use of all the machinery of castles, iron grates, poisons, daggers, rapes, night adventures, mistakes, treachery; in short, all that can embroil a narration, and appear to render the *denouement* impossible, and yet the story always finishes very naturally and in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. Such is the merit of the inventor, and to this the narrator adds that of precision and declamation, which are in high esteem with the audience; thus it happens that the same story is told by several relators successively with equal interest and success; one giving in a better style of declamation the pathetic and amorous part; another throwing more interest into the battle scenes and those of horror; and a third humouring the laughable events: in short, it is their theatrical entertainment; and as we go to a play, the first time for the piece, and afterwards for particular actors; so with the Arabs, these repeated representations do not fatigue the auditors. The tales are then followed with discussions; the parts which have excited applause are criticised, and thus the talents of the performers are brought to greater perfection; and all those who have acquired a high pitch of excellence in this art are in great estimation, as they contribute to the happiness of a whole family or even a horde. The Arabs have also their poets, even their improvisatores, who exhibit at great feasts, and they appear to be enchanted with them. I have heard them, but when their songs are not narrative, they doubtless lose much by being translated: they seemed to me to be only *concetti*, or a very insipid play upon words: these poets too have very singular manners, and particular tricks or gestures, distinguishing them from others, but give an appearance of insanity that inspired me with pity and repugnance; which was not the case with the narrators of the tales, who appear to be gifted by much more talent and nature.

Our delay ought to have distressed me less than others, since it gave me time to attend to the inflammation in my eyes; but I partook of the impatience of Desaix, who depended on the resources our convoy had on board, the absence of which paralysed his operations in every quarter, and left him in a distressing state of inaction. Happily we had few sick and wounded; for the physicians, who were without remedies, only looked on to tell them what should have been done for them, and could administer nothing; however we established a hospital, ovens, and a magazine, and we had a barrack sufficiently well fortified to be defended against any insurrection or attack of the peasants, and to hold in security three hundred men, in this little inlet of a post on the Nile.

The morning of the 15th was cold enough to make one wish for a fire, but it was rather the chillness of a warm morning in May, for on putting my head out of my window, I saw the birds alive and active, and busy in making their nests: in the evening of this day it thundered, a very rare occurrence in this country, as it scarcely happens oftener than once in a generation. The north wind, which is the most constant of all those that prevail in this part of the world, brings from the sea the clouds of a colder region, rolls them along

officers of health asserted that it was only a common malady ; it spoke for itself.

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through the valley of Egypt, where a burning sun rarefies them and reduces them to vapour ; when this vapour is driven into Abyssinia, the south wind which crosses the lofty and cold mountains of the country, sometimes brings back a few scattered clouds, which, as they experience but little change of temperature when returning over the humid valley of the Nile in flood-time, remain condensed, and at some periods produce, without thunder or tempest, small hasty showers. But, as the east and west winds, which are in general the parents of storms, both cross burning deserts, which either absorb the clouds, or raise the vapour to such a height as to be able to pass over the narrow valley of Upper Egypt, without undergoing detonation by the operation of the waters of the river, the phenomenon of thunder becomes so rare an occurrence to the inhabitants of this country, that even the thinking people who reside here do not attempt to assign to it a physical cause. General Desaix having questioned a person of the law in this place on the cause of thunder, he replied, with the perfect confidence of conviction : ‘ We know very well that it is an angel, but so small in stature that he cannot be perceived in the air ; he has however the power of conducting the clouds of the Mediterranean into Abyssinia, and when the wickedness of men is at its height he makes his voice heard, which is a voice of menace and reproach ; and as a proof that he has also the disposal of punishment, he opens a little way the gate of heaven, whence dart out the lightnings ; but as the clemency of God is infinite, never is his wrath carried further in Upper Egypt.’

It was a matter of surprise to us to hear a sensible looking man, with a venerable white beard, relate such a tale. Desaix wished to explain to him in another manner this phenomenon, but the old man thought it so inferior to his own, that he even did not take the trouble to listen to him. It had by this time rained all night, which rendered the streets muddy, slippery, and hardly passable. Here finishes the history of our winter, which I shall not again have occasion to mention.

We had now set up ovens after the manner of the country, and baked biscuit for ourselves. The Egyptians manage their ovens with great skill and address ; for individually they are dexterous and industrious, and as they have scarcely more tools to work with than any savage, it is surprising how much they do with their fingers, the instruments they are commonly reduced to employ ; and with their feet, with which they assist their hands wonderfully. I know not whether they can be made brave ; but they are eminently sober, as active on their legs as couriers, centaurs on horseback, and tritons in swimming ; and yet four thousand French exercise absolute empire over several millions of men, possessing such formidable qualities of body ; so strongly impressed on the mind of some persons is the habit of obedience, as that of command is on others, and this state.

From this day, till the 7th of May, Napoleon made almost daily attacks; they all failed, and their ill success

continues till one party slumbers over their abuse of power, until the other at last awakes at the noise of his chains.

On the 18th of January our cavalry returned; they brought us the welcome news of the arrival of our barks, and gave us the particulars of a battle which they had fought with several Mamelukes and their allies, who had spread the intelligence that they had forced our position and defeated us, and that our cavalry were the wrecks of the French army, who were endeavouring to make good their return to Cairo. Two thousand Arabs on horseback, and five or six thousand peasants on foot, had intended to cut off our cavalry; and for this purpose had advanced beyond Tata to meet them: when our troops discovered them they began to form; but the enemy supposing that our cavalry would decline the combat, had charged with their accustomed disorder, that is to say, with some of the boldest in front, and the rest in the middle, all striking and never parrying; but at the second discharge, the enemy, astonished to receive from cavalry a fire as well kept up as that of a battalion, began to give way, and having lost forty of their men, with about a hundred wounded, they had dispersed in different directions, deserting their poor infantry, who were as usual sabred, and would have been entirely destroyed, if night had not assisted their escape.

On the 20th our long expected boats came up; when the supplies which they brought, and above all, the music of one of our demi-brigades playing favourite French airs gave us all such a surprising sensation of delight at Girgeh, that we forgot the fretting impatience under which we had of late so much suffered. Alas, it was the song of the menaced swan! but let us not anticipate events; in war time, above all, the present moment must be enjoyed, since no one can command that which is to succeed.

On the 21st, the advance-money and the brandy, with which we were now supplied, gave a new pleasure to the life of the soldier, who, already tired of eating his six eggs for a sous, set out with joy to meet with fresh hardships.

We had been for twenty-one days tiring ourselves with inaction; I knew that I was near Abydos, where Osymandyas had built a temple, and where Memnon had resided. I was constantly urging Desaix to send thither a reconnoitring party as far as El-Araba, where I daily heard there were several ruins; and as often Desaix said to me, 'I will conduct you thither myself; Murad-Bey is two days' journey from us, he will come up the day after to-morrow, and we shall then give him battle; and when we shall have beaten him, we can bestow as much time as you will on antiquities, and I will myself assist you to measure them.' My good friend was certainly in the right, and even if it were not so, I must have contented myself.

At length, on the 22d, we quitted Girgeh at the approach of night, and passed directly opposite to the antiquities. Desaix dared not look me in the face; 'If I am killed to-morrow,' said I to him, 'my

sensibly depressed the spirits of the army. We now began to believe that Bonaparte was not infallible, and the

ghost will be always haunting you, repeating in your ears *El-Araba*. In truth, he recollected my menace, for five months after he sent from Siut an order for a detachment as an escort for me to *El-Araba*.

We arrived before a village, and it was not until next day we learnt that it was called *El-Besera*, for in the evening there was not a single inhabitant left to converse with. For my own part, I was not very sorry to find these villages empty, as it prevented me from hearing the cries of the inhabitants, from whom we were obliged to supply our wants by force; whereas when they were apprised of our coming every thing was removed, even to the doors and window-cases; and a village thus stript only two hours before, had the appearance of a ruin a century old.

The next day, as I was setting out foremost on the march, having the least to do, I was the first to perceive the Mamelukes. They advanced towards us, showing a front of an immense extent. We immediately formed in three squares, two of infantry for our wings, and our cavalry in the centre, flanked with eight pieces of artillery on the angles. In this order we marched, taking the rout to *Samanhut*, a village of considerable elevation, below which we hoped to take a good position. The Mamelukes now dividing their force, turned us, in three points, and began to fire their pieces, and to set up their war cries, before we even thought of using our artillery. A body of volunteers from Mecca were posted in a ravine between the village and our army, and fired from under cover on the square of our twenty-first. Desaix sent a detachment of infantry to dislodge them from their trenches, and another of cavalry to pursue them when they were driven out of their post. The cavalry, which was too eager, made the attack prematurely and to disadvantage; one of our men was killed, another wounded, and the aid-de-camp Rapp, received a sabre wound, which would have brought him to the ground, had not a volunteer parried off four more blows that were aimed at him: the Mecca troop, however, was repulsed.

Chasseurs were now sent to the village to dislodge those of the enemy who had taken post there; the Mamelukes drew up to attack our left, whilst another party threatened our right; they had at one time a favourable moment for charging us, but they hesitated, and lost an opportunity which never again occurred. However, they continued to prance round us, making a most brilliant display of their glittering arms, and of their skill in horsemanship, in which they exhibited all the oriental splendour; but the rigid severity of our northern discipline presented a spectacle equally formidable and commanding; the contrast however was striking; it was iron in battle array against gold; the whole plain sparkled with polished arms and accoutrements, and the picture was beautiful. Our artillery fired on the whole front of the enemy at once, who made a false attack on our right, in which several of their men were killed. One of their leaders, struck with a bullet, fell down too near us to be assisted by his own people; and whilst his foot hung in the stirrup, the horse, without abandoning his rider, would not let any one approach him; but the

opinion became universal that the place could not be taken — a disappointment that greatly added to our depression

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cupidity of our marksmen was raised by the gold which glittered on the dress of this unfortunate chief, who was thus dragged from place to place by his charger, and made to undergo the horrors of death in many forms.

Another party of chasseurs had been sent to Samanhut, to dislodge the enemy from that village also. They soon effected their object, and Murad himself was one of those that fled from that place, which was the post of his reserve : he took the route to Farshiut. This movement divided the whole of the enemy's army. Desaix took advantage of it to occupy the ground which they were quitting, and ordered the cavalry to charge those that still remained on our right. In an instant we saw them in the desert, gaining the first ascent of the mountain with incredible speed : we thought that, when on this favourable position, they would halt, to make head against our cavalry, but terror and disorder were among their ranks, and they only thought of collecting together to protect their flight ; some of their stragglers were killed and several camels taken, a small body fired separately on our left, the firing ceased at noon, and at one o'clock none of our enemies were in sight. We directed our march to Farshiut, which Murad-Bey had already abandoned.

This unfortunate town had been pillaged some hours before by the Mamelukes. The sheik was a descendant of the sheiks Amman, who were powerful sovereigns, much respected in Said, and in the beginning of this century had reigned with equity, and been able to protect their subjects from the vexations of the Mamelukes. The present sheik, who had been conquered by Murad, and was reduced to a state of weakness and poverty, saw with pleasure his avengers in us, and had prepared biscuit for our arrival ; but Murad, defeated and obliged to fly, had sent for this old prince before he left Farshiut, loaded him with reproaches, and in his rage had cut off his head with his own hand. When our troops arrived they completed the pillage of the magazines ; the *generale* was beat to prevent this disorder, but the whole army was equally in fault, and must have been punished : a forced march is in such cases immediately ordered, and to escape the reproaches and clamour of the inhabitants, we set out at midnight.

The darkness was frightful, and the cold severe enough to oblige us to light a fire every time that the artillery halted. As Desaix, his aides-de-camp, and myself, were standing under the shelter of a wall by one of our fires, we received a volley from some fusileers at the top of the wall : they were some of the volunteers from Mecca who still hovered about us, for it was our destiny to meet with them every where ; they were twenty in number, and we killed eight of them ; the others escaped, owing to the darkness of the night. These volunteers, who called themselves noble, wore the green turban, as descendants of the race of Ali : and the vagabond chevaliers, who existed by plundering the caravans on the shore of Gidda, were now urged by their noble zeal, and tempted by the dead time of year for their usual occupation, to come and attack a European people, whom they

of spirits. Having breakfasted with Murat on the 7th of May, I discovered, on going out of the tent, a sail on

they thought were covered with gold, that would repay with an ample booty for all their toils and hazards.

Armed with three javelins, a pike, a dagger, a brace of pistols, and a carabine, they attack with boldness, resist with obstinacy; and though mortally wounded, seem astonishingly tenacious of life; for in this last encounter, I saw one of them still strike at and wound two of our men, whilst they were holding him nailed against a wall with their bayonets.

We arrived at Haw an hour before sun-rise. The Mamelukes had just left it; one party of the beys had entered the desert with their camels, to arrive at Esneh by this route in a day and a half, the rest had followed the course of the Nile, which requires a journey of six days.

Haw, or the ancient Diospolis Parva is in a fine military situation; but possesses no remains of antiquity.

Here we halted during the day, and set out an hour before night. After being enlightened by the illusive splendour of an aurora borealis, and waiting for the moon's rising till after ten, we arrived at eleven at a large village, the name of which I could never learn, and where, unfortunately for their reputation, and to the great misfortune of the inhabitants, our soldiers behaved with shameful atrocity.—We left this place at the first dawn of day, on the 15th of January. The tongue of cultivated land now became more narrow on the left bank on which we were marching, but increased on the right bank in nearly the same proportion.

At last we entered the desert, and we there saw a wild beast, which from its size and remarkable form we took to be a hyena. We pushed on to overtake it, but it ran from us as fast as we could gallop, so that we were obliged to give up the pursuit.

We were now approaching Tentyra in our march; and here I ventured to speak to Desaix of halting, but he answered me with some ill-humour; this displeasure, however, lasted but a moment, for soon after, resuming his natural sensibility, he came to me, and partaking of my love for the fine arts, showed himself even a warmer friend to them than myself. Endowed with a truly rare delicacy of mind, he had united a love of all the amiable passions with an ardent thirst for glory; and to a great extent of knowledge, which he already possessed, he added a constant desire of increasing the stores of his mind with all the means of information which fell in his way, so that his active curiosity rendered his society always agreeable, and his conversation interesting.

We arrived at Tentyra. The first object which I saw was a small temple on the left of the road, in so bold a style and proportion of architecture, that at a distance I took it to be the ruins of a mosque. In turning back to the right, I found buried in a gloomy heap of ruins a gate, built of enormous masses covered with hieroglyphics; and through this gate I had a view of the temple. I wish I could here transfuse into the soul of my readers the sensation which I experienced. I was too much lost in astonishment to be capable of

the horizon. I pointed it out,—in a few minutes a second and third appeared, and we were all gaiety and spirits,

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cool judgement; all that I had seen hitherto served here but to fix my admiration. This monument seemed to me to have the primitive character of a temple in the highest perfection. Covered with ruins as it was, the sensation of silent respect which it excited in my mind appeared to me a proof of its impressive aspect; and without being partial in favour of the antique, I may add, that the whole army experienced similar feelings.

The ancient city of Tentyra was built on the borders of the desert, on the lowest level of the Lybian chain, the foot of which is washed by the waters of the inundation of the Nile at the distance of a league from its bed.

Nothing is more simple and better put together than the few lines which compose this architecture. The Egyptians, borrowing nothing from the style of other nations, have here added no foreign ornament, no superfluity of materials: order and simplicity are the principles which they have followed, and they have carried them to sublimity. At this point they have stopped, and attached so much importance to preserving a unity of design, that though they have loaded the walls of these edifices with bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and historical and scientific representations, none of those rich additions intersect a single line of the general plan, all of which are religiously preserved unbroken: the sumptuous and rich decorations, which appear to the eye when close to the building, all vanish at a short distance, and present full to view the grand elements of architectural composition, which are dictated by sound reason. It never rains in this climate; all that is wanted therefore is a covering of plat-bands to give shade, but beyond this, neither roof nor pediment are added: the plain-slope is the principle of solidity; they have therefore adopted this form for every main supporter, doubtless with the idea that stability is the first impression that architecture should give, and is an essential constituent of that art. With these people, the idea of the immortality of the Deity is presented by the eternity of his temple: these ornaments, which are always rational, consistent, and significant, demonstrate a steadiness of principle, a taste founded upon truth, and a deep train of reasoning; and if we even had not a full conviction of the eminent height to which they had attained in the abstract sciences, their architecture alone, in the state in which we now find it, would give the observer of the present day a high opinion of the antiquity of this nation, of its cultivation, and the impressive gravity of its general character.

I have already said, that I despair of being able to express all that I experienced on standing under the portico of Tentyra. I felt that I was in the sanctuary of arts and sciences. How many periods presented themselves to my imagination at the sight of such an edifice! how many ages of creative ingenuity were requisite to bring a nation to such a degree of perfection and sublimity in the arts! and how many more of oblivion to cause these mighty productions to be forgotten, and to bring back the human race to the state of nature in

in the expectation that it was a French squadron. Alas, so much the greater was our disappointment, when we

which I now found them on this very spot ! Never was there a place which condensed in a narrow compass such a well-marked memorial of a progressive lapse of ages. What unceasing power, what riches, what abundance, what superfluity of means must a government possess which could erect such an edifice, and find within itself artists capable of conceiving and executing the design, of decorating and enriching it with every thing that speaks to the eye and to the understanding ! Never did the labour of man show me the human race in such a splendid point of view : in the ruins of Tentyra the Egyptians appeared to me as giants.

These monuments, which imprinted on the mind the respect due to the sanctuary of the Divinity, were the open volumes, in which science has been unfolded, morality dictated, and the useful arts promulgated ; every thing spoke, every object was animated with the same mind. The opening of the doors, the angles, the most private recesses, still presented a lesson, a precept of admirable harmony ; and the lightest ornament on the gravest feature of the architecture revealed, under living images, the abstract truths of astronomy. Painting added a further charm to sculpture and architecture, and produced at the same time an agreeable richness, which did not injure either the general simplicity or the gravity of the whole. To all appearance, painting, in Egypt, was then only an auxiliary ornament, and not a particular art : the sculpture was emblematical, and, if I may so call it, architectural. Architecture, therefore, was the great art, or that which was dictated by utility ; and we may from this circumstance alone infer the priority, or at least the superior excellence of the Egyptian over the Indian art, since the former, borrowing nothing from the latter, has become the basis of all that is the subject of admiration in modern art, and of what we have considered as exclusively belonging to architecture, the Greek orders, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. We should, therefore, be cautious of entertaining the false idea, which is so prevalent, that the Egyptian architecture is the infancy of this art, since it is in fact the complete type.

I was particularly struck with the beauty of the gate which closed the sanctuary of the temple : all the ornaments which architecture has since added to this species of decoration have only diminished the general style.

I could not expect to find any thing in Egypt more complete, more perfect, than Tentyra ; I was confused by the multiplicity of objects, astonished by their novelty, and tormented by the fear of never again visiting them. On casting my eyes on the ceilings I had perceived zodiacs, planetary systems, and celestial planispheres, represented in a tasteful arrangement ; the walls I had observed to be covered with groups of pictures, exhibiting the religious rites of this people, their labours in agriculture and the arts, and their moral precepts ; I saw that the Supreme Being, the first cause, was every where depicted by the emblems of his attributes. Our national impatience was dismayed with the constancy of application exhibited by the peo-



discovered it to be the Turkish fleet on its way to the relief of Acre. This circumstance rendered it a matter

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ple who had executed these monuments ; throughout was shown equal care and equal assiduity, which would make one believe that these edifices were not the works of their kings, but that they were constructed at the expense of the nation, under the direction of colleges of priests, and by artists whose labours were circumscribed by invariable rules. A series of years might, indeed, have brought the arts to a higher degree of perfection in some particulars ; but each temple is so equally finished in all its parts, that they appear to have been executed by the same hand ; no one portion is better or worse than another ; there appears neither negligence nor the bold strokes of a more exalted genius, uniformity and harmony prevail throughout. The art of sculpture, here made subservient and attached to that of architecture, appears to have been circumscribed in principle, in method, and in style of execution ; a single figure expresses nothing when taken out of its exact station in the group of which it forms a part ; the sculptor had its design chalked out for him, and could not introduce any deviation which might alter the true meaning it was intended to convey ; it was with these figures as with the cards that we use for our games, the imperfection of design is overlooked, that no obstacle may arise in instantly distinguishing the value of each. The perfection given by the Egyptians to the representations of their animals proves that they were not without an idea of that bold style which expresses much character in a few lines, and their execution tended to the grave, and to ideal perfection, as we have already remarked in the instance of the sphinx.

In regard to the character of the human figure, as they borrowed nothing from other nations, they could only copy from their own, which is rather delicate than fine. The female forms, however, resemble the figure of beautiful women of the present day, round and voluptuous, a small nose, the eyes long, half shut, and turned up at the outer angle, like those of all persons whose sight is habitually fatigued by the burning heat of the sun, or the dazzling white of snow ; the cheeks round and rather thick, the lips pouting, the mouth large, but cheerful and smiling ; in short, the African character, of which the negro is the exaggerated picture, though perhaps the original type.

The hieroglyphics, which are executed in three different manners, are also of three species, and may have derived their dates from as many distinct periods. From the examination of the different edifices which have fallen under my eye, I imagine that the most ancient of these characters are only simple outlines cut in without relief, and very deep : the next in age, and which produce the least effect, are simply in a very shallow relief ; while the third, which seem to belong to a more improved age, and are executed at Tentyra more perfectly than in any other part of Egypt, are in relief below the level of the outline. By the side of the figures which compose these tabular pieces of sculpture, there are small hieroglyphics, which appear to be only the explanation of the subjects at large, and in which the forms are much simplified, so as to give a more rapid mode

of imperious necessity to make an assault the same night; Bonaparte accordingly issued orders, and the commanders immediately prepared for action.

of inscription, or a kind of *short-hand*, if we may apply the term to sculpture.

A fourth kind of hieroglyphics appears to be devoted simply to ornament: we have improperly termed it, I know not why, the *arabesque*. It was adopted by the Greeks, in the age of Augustus introduced among the Romans; and in the fifteenth century, during the restoration of the arts, was transmitted by them to us as a fantastic decoration, the peculiar taste of which formed all its merit. Among the Egyptians, who employed these ornaments with equal taste, every object had a meaning or a moral, and at the same time formed the decoration of the friezes, the cornices, and the surbasements of their architecture.

I have discovered at Tentyra the representations of the peristyles in caryatides, which are executed in painting at the baths of Titus, and have been copied by Raphael, and which we constantly ape in our rooms, without suspecting that we have derived the first models of them from the Egyptians.

I passed from object to object, distracted from one by the inviting appearance of the next; constantly led to new subjects, and again torn from them, I wanted eyes, hands, and intelligence vast enough to see, copy, and reduce to some order, the multitude of striking images which presented themselves before me. I was ashamed at delineating such sublime objects by such imperfect designs, but I wished to preserve some memorial of the sensations which I experienced, and I feared that Tentyra would escape from me for ever; so that my regret equalled my present enjoyment. I had just discovered, in a small apartment, a celestial planisphere, when the last rays of day-light made me perceive that I was accompanied only by my kind and obliging friend General Beliard, who, after having satisfied his own curiosity, would not leave me unprotected in so deserted a spot.

We galloped on, and regained our division, which was already at Dindera, three quarters of a league from Tentyra, where we slept. Every soldier and officer, without giving or receiving orders, had turned aside from the route, and hastened to Tentyra; and the army had of its own accord remained there the rest of the day—a day of such pleasure as to reward me for every danger incurred in obtaining it.

In the evening, Latournerie, an officer of brilliant courage, and of refined and delicate taste, said to me: “Since I have been in Egypt, deceived in all my expectations, I have constantly felt heavy and melancholy, but Tentyra has cured me; what I have seen this day has repaid me for every fatigue; all that may happen to me in the event of this expedition, I shall during my life congratulate myself at having embarked in it, and obtained a recollection of this day, which I shall preserve for the residue of my existence.”

We quitted Dindera on the 26th of January, continuing our route

The attack was to be made at ten at night: and an hour or two previous I saw Colonel Boyer, who was to

southwards, following the direction of the Nile, in a course opposite to its current. The country now exhibited a new scenery to our eyes: we saw palm trees much larger than any we had hitherto met with, gigantic tamarisks, villages half a league long, and yet the land, which had received the benefit of the inundation, remained uncultivated. Could it be that the inhabitants chose to grow no more than was sufficient for their own consumption, and thus deprive their tyrants of the profit of their superfluity? In the afternoon, as Desaix and myself were talking about crocodiles, being near that part of the Nile where they were met with, and opposite several low sand islands, their favourite resort, we saw something long and brown lying among a number of ducks; it was a crocodile asleep; it appeared from fifteen to eighteen feet long. We fired, when it gently entered the water, but some minutes after came out again; a second shot made it re-plunge in the stream, but it again returned to the island; the belly appeared much larger than that of animals of the same species, which I had seen stuffed.

We learnt that one party of the Mamelukes had passed along the right bank of the river, and that the other continued its route to Esneh and Syene. Desaix ordered the cavalry to set forward at midnight and endeavour to come up with the latter.

We set out on the 27th, at two in the morning: at eight we found a dead crocodile on the shore of the river, it was still fresh; the length was eight feet: the upper jaw, which is the only one having any motion, seems to close but indifferently with the under, but the throat supplies that deficiency, for it hangs as loose as a purse, and its elasticity performs the office of a tongue, of which this animal is entirely destitute; the nostrils and ears shut like the ear-holes of a fish, and its small close-set eyes add much to the frightfulness of its general appearance.

At nine o'clock, in making a sharp turn round the point of a projecting chain of mountains, we discovered all at once the site of ancient Thebes in its whole extent: this celebrated city, the size of which Homer has characterised by the single expression of *with a hundred gates*, a boasting and poetical phrase, that has been repeated with so much confidence for so many centuries: this illustrious city, described in a few pages dictated to Herodotus by Egyptian priests, that have been since copied by every historian; celebrated by the number of its kings, whose wisdom has raised them to the rank of gods: by laws which have been revered without being promulgated, by science involved in pompous and enigmatical inscriptions, the first monuments of ancient learning which are still spared by the hand of time: this abandoned sanctuary, surrounded with barbarism, and again restored to the desert, from which it had been drawn forth, enveloped in the veil of mystery, and the obscurity of ages, whereby even its own colossal monuments are magnified to the imagination, still impressed the mind with such gigantic phantoms, that the whole army, suddenly and with one accord, stood in amazement at the sight

lead the assault, walking with Bonaparte and receiving his instructions. At ten precisely the assault commenced ;

of its scattered ruins, and the soldiery clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and object of their glorious toils, and the complete conquest of Egypt, were accomplished and secured by taking possession of the splendid remains of this ancient metropolis. The situation of this city is as fine as can well be imagined, and the immense extent of its ruins convinces the spectator that fame has not magnified its size ; for the diameter of Egypt not being sufficient to contain it, monuments rest upon the two chains of mountains which are contiguous, whilst its tombs occupy the vallies towards the west, extending far into the desert.

Four large hamlets divide amongst them the remains of the ancient monuments of Thebes, whilst the river, by the sinuosity of its course, seems still proud of flowing through and watering its stupendous ruins.

Soon after noon-day we arrived at a desert, which was the Necropolis or city of the dead : the rock, excavated on its inclined plane, presents three sides of a square, with regular openings, behind which are double and triple galleries, used as burying places. I entered here on horseback, with Desaix, supposing that these gloomy retreats could only be the asylum of peace and silence ; but scarcely were we immersed in the obscurity of these galleries, when we were assailed with javelins and stones, by enemies whom we could not distinguish, and this put an end to our observations. We since learned that a considerable number of people inhabited these obscure retreats, and that probably, from the savage habits contracted there, they were almost always in rebellion against authority, and had become the terror of the vicinity. Too much in haste to make a fuller acquaintance with the inhabitants, we marched back with precipitation, and this time I only saw Thebes on the gallop.

It had been my lot to stay for months at Zaoyeh, at Benesuef, and Girgeh, and to pass by without stopping at the magnificent objects which I had come to visit. We arrived presently after at a temple, which I took to be of the highest antiquity, from its ruinous appearance, its thorough antique hue, its constructions which was less perfect than the rest, the extreme simplicity of its ornaments, the irregularity of its outline, and especially the coarseness of its sculpture. Galloping after the troops, who were constantly marching on, I arrived at a second edifice much more considerable, and in a better state of preservation. I found in my way a statue of black granite : I call it granite, till it shall be determined what is the nature of that stone which has been long denominated basalt, and which is the material of the magnificent Egyptian lions, placed at the foot of the flight of steps leading to the Roman Capitol.

At the entrance of this temple two square mounds flank an immense gate, and against the inner wall are engraved, in two bas-reliefs, the victorious combats of some hero. This piece of sculpture is in the most irregular style of composition, without perspective, plan, or distribution, like the first conceptions of the unimproved human mind. I have

Colonel Boyer, at the head of his grenadiers, forced the trenches, and lodged himself in the tower. But he was

seen at Pompeia rude sketches executed by Roman soldiers on the stucco of the walls; they entirely resembled in style those of which I am now speaking, being like the first attempts of a child, before he has seen any thing whereby to arrange his ideas. Here the hero is gigantic, and the enemies whom he is overthrowing are twenty-five times smaller than himself; if this however could be meant for a piece of flattery in the arts, it was certainly ill-contrived, since the hero could gain no honour by overcoming pygmies.

At some paces from this gate are the remains of an enormous colossus; it has been wantonly shattered, for the parts which are left have so well preserved their polish, and the fractures their edges, that it is evident, if the spirit of devastation in mankind had trusted to time alone to ruin this monument, we should still behold it entire and uninjured. Suffice it to say, in order to convey an idea of its dimensions, that the breadth of the shoulders is twenty-five feet, which would give about seventy-five for the entire height: the figure is exact in all its proportions, the style middling, but the execution perfect; when overset, it fell upon its face, which hides this interesting part; the drapery being broken, we can no longer judge by its attributes whether it is the figure of a king or a divinity. Is it the statue of Memnon, or that of Osymandyas?—the descriptions hitherto given of this monument throw more confusion than light upon the question. If it is the statue of Memnon, which appears to me the more probable, every traveller for two thousand years must have mistaken the object of his curiosity, as will be seen by the inscription of the names on another colossal statue, of which I shall presently speak.

One foot of this statue remains, which is broken off and in good preservation; it may be easily carried away, and afford the curious in Europe a scale of comparison of the monuments of this species, and will serve as a companion to the colossal feet which are in the court of the Capitol at Rome. The spot where this figure stood might be either a temple or a palace, or both at the same time; for if the bas-relief would belong more properly to a royal residence, the figures of eight priests, which are in the front of two porticoes in the inner part, would peculiarly indicate a temple, except indeed they were introduced to remind the sovereign that, conformably to the law, the priests ought always to serve and assist in the exercise of monarchical power.

This ruin, which is situated on the slope of the mountain, and has never been inhabited in later times, is so well preserved in the parts that are still standing, that it appears more like a new and unfinished building: several columns are seen here to their very bases, their proportions are grand, but the style, though purer than that of the first mentioned temple, is however not comparable to that of Tentyra, either for the majesty of the general design, or for the delicacy in the execution of particular parts. It would have taken some time and examination to have designed the plan of this temple, but the ca-

again attacked by an overwhelming force; the Colonel and many of his officers were killed, and the assault failed.

valry were galloping on; and I was obliged to follow them closely, not to be for ever stopped in my researches.

Our attention was arrested in the plain by two large statues, in a sitting posture, between which, according to Herodotus, Strabo, and those who have copied the relation of these writers, was the famous statue of Osymandyas, the largest of all these colossal figures. Osymandyas had prided himself so much on the execution of this bold design, that he caused an inscription to be engraven on the pedestal of the statue, in which he defied the power of man to destroy this monument, as well as that of his tomb, the pompous description of which now appears only a fantastic dream. The two statues still left are doubtless those of the mother and the son of this prince, mentioned by Herodotus; that of the king himself has disappeared, the hand of time and the teeth of envy appear to have united zealously in its destruction, and nothing now remains but a shapeless rock of granite; so that it requires the persevering look of the amateur, accustomed to this kind of examination, to distinguish any portions of the figure which have escaped destruction; and even those are so insignificant, that they can throw no light on its dimensions. The two statues still existing are in the proportion of from fifty to sixty-five feet in height; they are seated with their two hands on their knees; all that remains of them shows a severity of style, and a straightness of position. The bas-reliefs and the small figures clustered round the seat of the southernmost of these statues, are not without elegance and delicacy in the execution. On the leg of the statue the most to the north, the names of the illustrious and ancient travellers who came to hear the sound of the statue of Memnon are written in Greek. We may here see the great influence which celebrity exercises over the minds of men, since when the ancient Egyptian government and the jealousy of the priests no longer forbade strangers to touch these monuments, the love of the marvellous retained its empire over the minds of those who came hither as visitors. Thus, in the age of Adrian, which was enlightened by philosophy, Sabina, the wife of this emperor, and herself a literary woman, condescended, along with the learned men who accompanied her, to acknowledge that she had heard sounds which no physical cause could have produced. But the vanity of inscribing one's name on such antiquities might very easily have produced the first on the list, and the natural desire of becoming an associate in this kind of glory might have added the rest, and this is doubtless the reason of the numberless inscriptions of names which we find here, with so many dates, and in so many languages.

I had hardly taken a glimpse of these colossal figures when I found that I was left alone with the stupendous originals. Being alarmed at my unprotected situation, I hastened to rejoin my comrades, whose eager curiosity had already led them to a large temple near the village of Medinet-Abu. I observed as I passed by, that the ground about the tomb of Osymandyas was cultivated, and that consequently the inundation reached as far: so that although the

This was followed, the next day, by another attempt, still more desperate, but which equally proved

bed of the Nile was raised, there must formerly have been some dike to prevent the water from flooding part of the ancient town, which, when we crossed it, was a vast field of green wheat, promising an abundant harvest.

At the right, adjoining the village of Medinet-Abu, at the bottom of the mountain, is a vast palace, built and enlarged at different periods. All that I could ascertain respecting it, in this first examination on horseback, was, that the lower part of the palace, which, abutting against the mountain, is the most ancient in its construction, and covered with hieroglyphics, cut very deep and without any relief; that in the fourth century, the catholic religion converted it to sacred purposes, and made a church of it, adding two rows of pillars in the style of that age, to support a covered roof. To the south of this monument are the Egyptian apartments, with ladders and square windows, the only building that I had yet seen here which was not a temple; and beyond this are edifices rebuilt with old materials, but left unfinished. The first eagerness of curiosity being satisfied, Desaix led us off at full gallop, as if there had been Mamelukes on the plain, and we went two leagues farther that night, till we reached Hermontes, where we slept, I having a temple for my lodging.

The figure of Typhon or Anubis was so often repeated in the edifice where I had taken up my abode, that I concluded the whole to have been dedicated to him. He is represented standing up, with a belly like a pig, and breasts similar to those of the Egyptian women of the present day. Two hundred yards to the east of this temple is a large reservoir, lined with fine stone, with four ladders for the purpose of descending into it.

Four hundred yards further, in the same direction, are the remains of a church, built in the fourth or fifth century, out of the ruins of the finest Egyptian antiquities, the nave was decorated with splendid columns of granite, but the whole is overthrown, and nothing left standing but a few fragments of the choir, and the arches of the outer enclosure: this destruction has been effected by the hand of man, for the church was too well built not to have resisted the ravages of time to the present day.

At night I returned to my quarters, with my head confused by the multifarious objects which had passed before my eyes in so short a space of time. I felt as if I had been in a dream during the whole of this rich day; since I could have found delicious and abundant food for curiosity during a whole month, in seeing what I had been obliged to pass over in twelve hours, and without having had it in my power to devote any part of the succeeding day to reflection.

In the morning of the 28th, I saw a tamarisk of an enormous size, planted on the bank of the Nile: it had been loosened at the root by progressive inundations, and at last overthrown; the greater number of its roots had ranged themselves upright, and produced leaves; the old branches on which the tree had fallen were fixed in the earth, and served as a footstool, so that the enormous trunk, which remained suspended horizontally, by a confusion in the system of circulation, vegetat-

abortive. On the 10th, Kleber having arrived at the camp, Bonaparte said to him,—“The victory will belong

ed in every direction, and gave it such a grotesque appearance, that the Turks had not failed to make a miracle of this vegetable monster.

At our halt we found another contraction of the Nile. The Lybian chain, turning suddenly towards the east, forces the stream against the Arabian chain. The river, contracted between these two obstacles, has overcome that which offered the least resistance, and the current has, in its various swells, undermined and worn through a bed of gravel which opposed its course, below the level of the base of the Lybian bank; the upper part, thus deprived of support, having torn itself off by its weight from the adjoining portion of the hill; the rent has formed two projecting points of rock. This rock, which is called Gibelin, or the Two Mountains, serves as a boundary to one of the subdivisions of Upper Egypt; and under the late government became a barrier for the rebel beys, who were banished into Upper Saïd, a barrier which the exiles could not pass without forfeiting the protection of the law. Some years back, Osman-Bey, after being sent to Con-seir, accompanied by men who were secretly charged to murder him, instead of embarking the Bey for Mecca, to which place he was sentenced to be exiled, prevented the plans of his assassins, so that he possessed himself of the vessel, which was richly laden, escaped into Upper Egypt, and assembled a party of Mamelukes in his favour, who obliged Murad to come to terms, and to cede to him the sovereignty of all the country between Gibelin and Syene.

After this contraction of the channel of the Nile, the valley expands, without any improvement being apparent in agriculture. We saw large plains, worn by the current of the waters, waiting in vain for the seed which they would have returned to the cultivator with a vast increase.

On the 29th, we arrived early in the morning at Esneh, the last town of any importance in Egypt. Murad had been obliged to evacuate the place a few hours before the arrival of our cavalry, and to burn a number of his tents and all his heavy baggage, which would have encumbered and slackened his march. We therefore had reason to suppose that he was determined to quit Egypt, and to bury himself in Nubia, in the hope of wearying us out, and dividing our forces: for as the country affords no resources for the supply of a large body of men marching together, he might hope to be able there to rally his forces, and advance by the desert to attack our detachments.

Esneh is the ancient Latopolis. Some remains are still visible of its port or quay on the bank of the Nile, which has been often repaired, but notwithstanding all that has been done, it still remains in a very miserable condition. This town also contains the portico of a temple, which appears to me to be the most perfect monument of ancient architecture. It is situated near the bazaar in the great square, and would make an incomparable ornament to this spot, had the inhabitants any idea of its merit; but, instead of this, they have deformed it by the most miserable ruined hovels, and devoted it to the vilest purposes. The portico is very well preserved, and possesses great richness of



to the most obstinate," and accordingly resolved to make another effort. It had the same ill success as the preceding.

sculpture; and is composed of eighteen columns with broad capitals; these pillars are noble and elegant, though they now appear in the most disadvantageous light; the rubbish should be cleared away, in order to find whether any part of the *cella* remains.

The hieroglyphics in relief, with which it is covered within and without, are executed with great care; they contain, among other subjects, a zodiac, and large figures of men with crocodiles' heads: the capitals, though all differing, have a very fine effect; and as an additional proof that the Egyptians borrowed nothing from other people, we may remark, that they have taken all the ornaments, of which these capitals are composed, from the productions of their own country, such as the lotos, the palm-tree, the vine, the rush, &c. &c. I did not quit this temple till it was absolutely necessary to pursue our route; we left half our infantry and our artillery at Esneh, in order to march with less incumbrance through a country, the resources of which were diminishing every league, and soon dwindled to little or nothing. We slept three leagues and a half short of Esneh.

On the 30th, after marching three hours, we found, at the distance of three-quarters of a league from the river, on the edge of the desert, a small pyramid, fifty or sixty feet in the base, built with unhewn stones, but too small to have been able to preserve their place, and thus the facing has been shattered from top to bottom.

At half after two, a little before our arrival at Etfu, we found the ruins of Hieraconpolis, which consist of the remains of a gate belonging to an edifice of considerable magnitude, if we may judge from the dimensions of the stones, the extent of ground occupied by the fragments, and the diameter of the defaced capitals, which are seen scattered on every side. The stone of which this temple is built is of so friable a quality, that the form of the edifice is entirely lost, and none of the plan can be made out. Some yards further off, the ruins of another building can with difficulty be distinguished, owing to the great decay; the other remains of the town are only a few heaps of highly burnt bricks and some vestiges of granite.

We saw on the other side of the river, two hundred Mamelukes come down along with their attendants and equipage; we since learned, that it was Edfey-Bey, who, being wounded at Samanbut, had not chosen to pass the cataracts with the other beys. We were struck with admiration at the fine and advantageous site of Apollinopolis Magna; it commanded the river and the whole valley of Egypt; and its magnificent temple towered over the rest like a large citadel, that keeps the adjacent country in awe. This comparison is indeed, so naturally suggested by the situation of the structure in question, that it is only known to the natives by the name of *the Fortress*. I foresaw with regret that we should only enter the town late, and quit it early in the morning, therefore I pushed on to gain a little time to examine it before day-light entirely left us. During this visit I had only time to ride round this edifice, the extent, majesty, magnificence, and high preservation of which, surpassed all that I had yet seen in Egypt, or elsewhere; it made an impression on me as vast as its own gi-

**Colonel Venoux, of the 25th of the line, happening to pass Murat, pressed his hand, saying—"Either Acre will fall**

gantic dimensions. This building is a long suite of pyramidal gates, of courts decorated with galleries, of porticoes, and of covered naves, constructed not with common stones, but entire rocks. Night came on before I had time to visit the whole of this surprising monument, and I again regretted the necessity of passing over with so much rapidity what merited such high admiration. The excellent preservation of this ancient building forms a wonderful contrast with the grey ruins of modern habitations erected within its vast enclosure; a part of the population is contained in huts built in the courts, and around the fragments of the temple; which, like swallows' nests in our houses, defile them without concealing or injuring their general appearance. Besides, this singular medley, that hurts the eye at first sight, produces a picturesque contrast, which at once gives a scale of comparison, both for men and for the lapse of time; and, after all, we have no right to think it absurd for ignorant people to shelter their feeble huts against splendid objects, which have never once attracted their curiosity, whilst, in France, we suffer the amphitheatre of Nîmes to remain encumbered with hovels and heaps of rubbish.

Below Etû, the cultivated country grows very narrow; so that there is only a quarter of a league in breadth between the desert and the river. At noon we halted on the banks of the Nile: the cavalry had preceded us, but, at the moment when we were setting out, we ascertained that we had a desert of seven leagues to cross; the day was too far advanced to allow us to undertake so long a march, and we therefore stopped the rest of the evening in a desolated village, where fortunately we found wood.

On the 31st, we continued our march at three in the morning. After passing, for an hour, through a cultivated country, we entered the desert by a mountain composed of decayed slate, free-stone, white and rose-coloured quartz, and brown flint, with several white carnelians. Having marched five hours in the desert, our soldiers had their shoes torn, and were obliged to envelope what linen they could about their feet, and were also tormented with a burning thirst. No water could be found but in the Nile, which was a league out of our way, for the banks were as arid as the desert; the urgency of thirst, however, prevailed, and we arrived at the river, exhausted with fatigue; but the camp equipage, the draft animals which had had no food the night before, were so weakened by hunger, that few of them were able to follow. Conceive, however, the general distress when it was announced that there was nothing to eat! We looked at each other in mute consternation; but, after a while, a camel with a light load of butter came up, with some others, whose provision-sacks had been already emptied; but by shaking out the dust of meal from the bags, and rummaging every corner, we found sufficient to make a distribution of a handful of flour to each: we then procured firing from a neighbouring tree, made our flour into fritters, employment drove away our gloomy ideas, when French gaiety soon prevailed, and restored to us our usual courage. We briskly set forward after our refreshment; but our poor horses, who had not regaled upon

to night, or I return no more." Acre did not fall, and the Colonel kept his word. This last business was in-

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fritters, fell down from under us through exhaustion: we could do nothing but lead and support them with our hands, or else we must have abandoned them; in short, we were compelled to march, necessity alone made it practicable, and how many resources are contained in that single word—*necessity*.

Half an hour after we had passed the first desert, we came to the ruins of Silhills, which consist of broken fragments, bricks, and the remains of a temple, the highest walls of which are now not more than three feet above the level of the soil. One can just discover that the nave of the temple, covered with hieroglyphics, was surrounded by a gallery, to which, in a later period, a portico without hieroglyphics had been added. We returned a third time into the desert, when a hyena followed the column for a considerable time.

The rocks here become granite, with flints of every colour and species, whose hardness would render them susceptible of a high polish: I also found carnelian, jasper, and serpentine: the sand is formed of small fragments of all the primitive and constituent parts of the granite. We arrived at an elevated stage of the mountain, where we discovered a vast extent of country through which the Nile flows in a winding course; this river, after running along the Mokatam, returns to the north-west, and again changes its course to north. At this angle the ruins of a pharos may be perceived, which perhaps served as a light-house for this winding channel; at the other angle the heights of Ombos are apparent, with the fine monuments on its summit; at the elbow of the river one of its branches forms an inundated island, which, from this circumstance alone, is worth more than twenty square leagues of the neighbouring country, and its situation protects it from the incursion of the Mamelukes, as it now did from our visit. The inhabitants of the shore retired to it on our approach, abandoning to us the large village of Binban, which skirts the desert, being equally gloomy in appearance, and where we arrived, after a march of eleven hours. The drove of oxen which followed us had gone astray, and we had to wait for it, with the constant fear of its being carried off. The village offered nothing but a few walls, which we ransacked to their very foundations. Here I was witness to a scene which presented a striking contrast of savage brutality and the kindest sensibility.

Whilst I was looking at our people, whose necessities were as ingenious in bringing to light, as the care of the natives had been in concealing, a soldier issued from a cave, dragging after him a she-goat, which he had forced out; he was followed by an old man, carrying two young infants, who set them down on the ground, fell on his knees, and, without speaking a word, pointed, with tears in his eyes, to the young children, who must perish if the goat was taken away from them. But want, which is both deaf and blind to other distress, does not stay its murderous hand for any entreaty, and the goat was killed. At the same moment another soldier came up, holding in his arms a child, whose mother doubtless had been compelled to desert her infant in effecting her flight; and this humane and brave fellow,

deed most desperate : General Bon was mortally wounded by a ball which passed immediately through his body, and Eugene Beanharnais, Lannes, Duroc, and Arrogghi, were also wounded. Under these fatal circumstances the assault not only failed, but Bonaparte's obstinacy was overcome, and it was at length resolved that the siege should be abandoned.

All the war-commissaries immediately received orders to remove to Tentoura the wounded of their divisions, from which they were to take such means of transport as should be required. But how difficult was it to procure them ! I have already said that selfishness is the feeling which predominates in an army. The officers showed little readiness to give up their horses ; and to fulfil these instructions it was necessary to take away, by main force, the cattle of the sutlers and the asses of the soldiers, who could not compel their property to be respected, and who revenged themselves for the violence which was practised upon them by uttering a thousand reproaches. After all, these means were insufficient ; for there were in our hospitals, and particularly in Mount Carmel, sick and wounded not in a state to perform the journey in any other manner than in a litter. The greater number were attacked with the plague, and their removal required at least eight men to relieve each other upon the road. I know it was said, that, for the uncertain preservation of a single and plague-stricken subject, we must expose eight, or even twelve, men to the almost inevitable effects of a scourge whose progress was so rapid. I was a witness to the horror which this fatal resolution inspired ;

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notwithstanding the weight of his musket, cartridges, knapsack, and the fatigue resulting from a four-days' forced march, had picked up this little forsaken baby, carefully transported it for four leagues in his arms, when, not knowing what to do with it in this deserted village, seeing only one inhabitant left behind, with two children, he gently deposited his charge beside them, and departed, with the delightful expression irradiating his countenance, of one thoroughly convinced that he has performed a benevolent and Christian action.

a resolution which foresight might certainly have avoided. Nevertheless it belongs to the rectitude of my feelings ; it is due to the frankness, to the simplicity with which I have hitherto related all that I saw, to declare *that I have no other proofs of the poisoning our wounded but the conversations which I heard disseminated through the army.*

At Tentoura, which the forces reached in their retreat, May 21st, 1799, I first saw the plague in its most frightful character. Our sick and wounded were transported thither from the hospitals at Kerdanne and Mount Carmel. From Tentoura they were carried in small vessels to Jaffa, and from thence to Damietta. There were still in the cabins upon the shore some poor wretches who were waiting to be removed. Among them, a soldier was seized with the plague; and in the delirium, which sometimes accompanies the agony, he conjectured, without doubt, upon viewing the army march at beat of drum, that he was to be abandoned ; his imagination led him to perceive the extent of his misery if he fell into the hands of the Arabs. One may suppose that it was this fear which put him into so great an agitation, and suggested the idea of following the troops. He took his knapsack, upon which his head was resting, and, placing it upon his shoulders, made an effort to rise. The venom of the dreadful malady, that circulated in his veins, deprived him of strength, and after three steps he again fell upon the sand, headlong. The fall increased his terror ; and, after having lain some moments, looking with a wild glance at the tail of the columns which were on the march, he rose a second time, but with no better success : in his third effort he sunk, and, stretched near the sea, remained upon that spot which fate had destined to become his grave. The sight of this soldier was frightful : the disorder that reigned in his senseless speech,—his figure, which presented every thing that is mournful,—his eyes staring and fixed,—clothes in rags, portrayed all that is most

hideous in death. The reader may, perhaps, believe that his comrades must have been concerned for him; that they stopped to help him; that they hastened to support his tottering footsteps. Far from this: the poor wretch was only an object of horror and derision. They ran from him as from the disease which he was enduring, and they burst into loud laughter at his motions resembling those of a drunken man. He has got his account! cried one. He will not march far! said another. And when the wretch fell for the last time, some of them added, See, he has taken up his quarters! This terrible truth, which I cannot help repeating, must be acknowledged:—indifference and selfishness are the predominant feelings throughout an army.

On the 17th of May, happening to go to the ditch, I found a proclamation of Sir Sidney Smith, which the besiegers had thrown into the trenches, in order that it might become public among our soldiers. It was an appeal to them against Bonaparte, and the government of France, and is therefore to be regarded as contrary to the usages of war and of nations.

We reached Jaffa, May 25th, and halted there till the 27th. On the 28th, we resumed our march, and, on the following day, re-entered Egypt; such having been the termination of this disastrous expedition.

Bonaparte was not unacquainted with the rumours that had been circulated concerning the fate of the army returning from Syria,\* and it was undoubtedly with the

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\* One day, after dinner, says Comte Las Cases, the Emperor amused himself with perusing Jouinville's account of the Egyptian expedition, performed by Saint Louis. He then entered upon an analysis, describing the faults committed, and comparing the plans then adopted with those he had himself pursued, when he concluded by deciding that, in case he had followed the same line of conduct as that resorted to by Saint Louis, he must have infallibly experienced a similar destiny. On another occasion, the same interesting writer says, that Napoleon, one evening, occupied his hours with reading some chapters in the Bible, when he remarked, that the perusal was

intention of destroying the sad impressions which these exaggerated reports had occasioned, that, on his arrival, he published, through the Divan of Cairo, the proclamation from whence I am about to give the most singular passages, upon which, however, it is not my purpose to offer any reflections they might naturally excite.

“The councils are ordained by the law.

“He is arrived at Cairo, the well attended, the Chief of the French army, General Bonaparte, who loves the religion of Mahomet.\* He rests with his soldiers at

edifying, but that, in Europe, people would little believe he was so employed. He read, says the Comte, the Book of Judith, observing, at every place, town, or village, which he recapitulated by name,—“*There I was encamped; that post I took by assault; on this spot I gave battle,*” &c. &c.

\* Much having been adduced respecting Bonaparte’s ideas of Mahometanism, when in Egypt, we give the following extracts from the Journal of Count Las Cases, being the words of Napoleon.

The Emperor then referred to Egypt, and was very jocose on the subject of his having represented himself as the inspired and envoy of God.

“It was a deception,” said he, “though of an exalted nature. But it was merely intended, that the fraud should be recorded in beautiful Arabic verses, by one of their most skilful sheiks. My troops,” added Napoleon, “laughed at the idea, and their thoughts upon the subject were such in Italy and in Egypt; that in order to bring them to attend to the dictates of religion, I was compelled to treat the subject lightly, placing Jews on a level with Christians, and rabbins with bishops.”

Las Cases then says, it is, however, false, as stated by Goldsmith, that Bonaparte ever dressed himself as a Mussulman; and if he entered a mosque, it was always as a conqueror, and never as a convert. For the truth of this assertion, I refer to the campaigns of Egypt; he was, on the contrary, too austere, and possessed too much respect for himself to have ever permitted any thing of an equivocal tendency to escape him upon such a subject.

“Yet after all,” observed the Emperor, gaily, “it is not, however, impossible, but circumstances might have led me to embrace Islamism; but then it would have been an excellent omen; as, in that case, I must have advanced as far as the Euphrates. Apostasy, which cannot be excused as regards personal interest, might be tolerated under the consideration of immense results of a political nature. Henry the Fourth wisely said, *Paris is worth a mass*; and will it be asserted, that the empire of the East, and perhaps the subjugation of all Asia, were not equivalent to a turban and a pair of trowsers; for, to speak rationally, the whole reduces itself to that. The great sheiks had studied to give us fair play, they had smoothed the rugged paths;

Kuhbe, safe and in perfect health, thanking God for the many favours which he has heaped upon him. We entered

they tolerated wine, and exempted us from every bodily custom; all, therefore, that we had to lose were a pair of breeches and a hat. I say *we*, for the army, organized as it was, would most undoubtedly have acquiesced and regarded the matter as a laughable joke. Yet mark the consequences! I should have reversed the affairs of Europe; its ancient civilization remained as it were fettered, and who would have dreamed of disturbing the destinies of France, or that of the regeneration of our age?"

Having thus quoted Bonaparte's words in regard to the religion of Mahomet, we will now refer to his tenets as a Christian, quoting his sentiments from Las Cases.

"To say from whence I came, what I am, and whither I shall go, is above my comprehension, and yet the whole is, I am the living *watch* that knows not itself. Notwithstanding all this, religious feelings are so consolatory, that the possessing them is a benefit bestowed by heaven. What resources is it not capable of affording us in death? What power could men or things have over me, if, regarding my reverses and sufferings as the ordinances of God, I did not await a recompense hereafter? What would not be due to me, who have figured in such an extraordinary and stormy career, *without committing a single crime*, and I had it in my power to be guilty of so many! *Never did the idea of assassination, poisoning, or an unjust and premeditated death, so common with those who have acted such a part as mine, ever once take possession of my thoughts.* All I aimed to acquire was, the glory, the power, and the lustre of France. All my faculties, my energies, and my moments tended to that end. Certainly that cannot be deemed a crime; I only regarded them as virtues! What, then, will be my joy, if the bliss of a future state presents itself to crown the termination of my existence," &c.

Further on, Napoleon said, "There is no doubt, but, in quality of Emperor, my incredulity was a blessing for the people, since how could I otherwise have tolerated every worship! How could I have shown equal favour to such a contrariety of sectaries, if I had been governed by one only? How should I have preserved an independence of thought and action, under the control of a confessor, who would have governed me by the dread of hell's torments? What an empire may not the most ignorant of mankind, under such a title, exert over those deputed to govern nations? Is it not in such case the candle-snuffer who may, behind the scenes, move at his pleasure the Hercules of an opera? Who can, for a moment, doubt, but that the conclusive years of the life of Louis the Fourteenth would have proved very different, had he been governed by another Confessor? I was so thoroughly convinced upon this head, that I had determined to do all in my power, in order that my son might imbibe religious principles similar to those that have governed me," &c. &c.

The Emperor, says Las Cases, concluded this conversation by sending my son to fetch the Testament, which he read aloud from the beginning, never stopping till after the conversation of Jesus on



Cairo by the gate of Victory, on Friday, the 10th day of the month of Mohhartram, and in the year 1214 of the Hegira, with the greatest splendour and attendance; the excellent appearance of the troops was a most delightful spectacle. This has been a great day; never had we seen its equal. All the inhabitants of Cairo went forth to meet him; they have seen and know him to be indeed the same General-in-Chief, Bonaparte himself; they are convinced that all the reports concerning him were false. The inhabitants of Upper Egypt have expelled the Mamelukes to ensure their own safety, that of their families and their children,—for the chastisement of the wicked sometimes affects the righteous, their neighbours.

“We now inform you, that the Pacha Djezzar (or Butcher), thus named on account of his atrocious cruelties, making no choice of his victims, had collected together a great number of disaffected subjects, purposing to seize upon Cairo, and the provinces of Egypt, encouraging the natives by the promises of plunder and violation. The General-in-Chief Bonaparte departed, and beat the soldiers of Djezzar. He took the fort of El-Arish, and all the supplies of provisions which were found therein. He proceeded afterwards to Gaza, and beat the troops of Djezzar, who fled before him, as birds and mice fly before the cat. Arriving next at Ramleh, he again seized the supplies of Djezzar, and two thousand leathern bottles of excellent workmanship, which were there on their route to Egypt; but God ordered otherwise. From Ramleh he proceeded to Jaffa, which place he besieged during three days. The thoughtless inhabitants, refusing to submit, and despising his protection, in his wrath he surrendered the city to the fury of his troops—to plunder and to death; thus perished nearly

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the mountain. He then stated, that he was in ecstasy at the purity, sublimity, and beauty of such morality, and we all joined with him in expressing a similar opinion.

five thousand of the inhabitants. He has destroyed their ramparts and pillaged all that was found within the city: this is the work of God, who says, and all things are. He has spared the Egyptians who were found therein.—honoured them, and fed and clothed them. He found in Jaffa about five thousand men of the troops of Djezzar; they were all destroyed, few saving themselves by flight. From Jaffa he proceeded to Kakun, a place on Mount Nablous, where he burnt five villages. What was ordained has been fulfilled; the Master of the universe ever acts with the same justice. Afterwards he destroyed the walls of Acre, the castle of Djezzar. At Acre he has not left one stone upon another; he has made of it a heap of rubbish, so that it may be asked whether a city existed in that place. Such is the termination of the edifices of tyranny. Two motives have induced his return to Egypt,—first, that he might observe the promise which he made to the Egyptians, to revisit them in four months—for his promises are the most sacred engagements; secondly, from having learned that many disaffected, both of the Mamelukes and the Arabs, had sown trouble and sedition during his absence. His arrival has dispersed them. His highest ambition is the destruction of the wicked, and his only desire to confer favours on the righteous. Return then to God, you, his creatures, submit yourselves to his decrees, for to him alone belongeth the earth; obey his will, and know that he only disposeth of power and might, and bestoweth it on whom it seemeth to him meet: this he has ordained that we should believe. The General-in-Chief will make known to the Divan the love he bears to Mussulmen, and to their holy prophet; and that he will instruct himself in the Koran, which he always reads with the most constant attention. We also know that he purposeth to build a mosque which shall have no equal in all the world, and that he will embrace the Mahometan religion."

## CHAP. III.

*Account of the Institute at Cairo and the learned Men who accompanied the Expedition to Egypt—Denon's Narrative continued—Gazelles in the Desert—Approach to Syene—Beautiful View of the Island of Elephantina—Syene and the Frontiers of Upper Egypt—Quarters of the Army—Temple of Cneph and other Monuments, at Elephantina—Trade of Syene—Encounter of the French Cavalry with Assan-Bey—Carved Blocks of Granite—Cataracts of the Nile—Island of Philœ—Ethiopian Village and its Inhabitants—NAPOLEON's Questions to the Institute—Amusements of the French Officers—Petrified Forest—Fluctuation of the Sands of the Desert—Egyptian Mode of conveying Intelligence, or a Substitute for Telegraphs—Return of Miot and his Troop to Cairo—Movements of the Mamelukes preparatory to the Battle of Aboukir—Arrival of the Turkish Fleet off Aboukir—Operations of the French to frustrate the Intentions of the Turkish Armament—NAPOLEON's Letters to the Divans of Rosetta and Grand Cairo—Disembarkation of the Turks at Aboukir—BONAPARTE takes his Position at the Wells between Alexandria and Aboukir—his singular Conversation with General Murat, and spirited Reply of that intrepid Officer—M. Miot's Opinion in Respect to NAPOLEON's Exclamation, and his being then resolved to leave the Army of Egypt and embark for Europe.*

“DURING the expedition to Syria,” continues M. Miot, “order was established in all the branches of the administration at Cairo. Money was in active circulation, and the Institute pursued undisturbed its valuable researches. On all sides the French had displayed their industrious activity, and wants of every kind presented to dexterous speculators a thousand means of acquiring riches.”

As we cannot dwell too much on the French expedition to Egypt, which affords such incontestible proofs of

the genius and talent of Bonaparte, we shall here digress from the interesting narrative of M. Miot, to insert an account of all the scientific researches attempted by the Commander-in-Chief of the French army, combined with the labours of the Institute, established by his orders, at Grand Cairo. Many objects of the highest importance signalize this period, consecrated to arts and sciences; General Andreossy and M. Berthollet, as we have previously shown, went to explore the famous lakes of Natron, and proceeded to the *River without Water*; all the learned men who accompanied Napoleon, says General Berthier, were employed in pursuits analagous to their talents, and the knowledge they had acquired. Nouet and Méchain ascertained the latitude of Alexandria, Cairo, Salehiah, Damietta, and Suez.

Lefebvre and Malus acquired a thorough knowledge of the canal of Noës: the first having also accompanied, with Bouchard, Gaulat and Andreossy during his excursion to the lake Menzaleh.

Peyre and Gerard executed the plan of Alexandria; Lanorey explored Abou Maynege; and was further empowered to direct the works carried on at the canal of Alexandria.

Geoffroy consulted the animals found at Lake Menzaleh, and the fish of the Nile; Delisle was deputed to consider the plants that vegetate in Lower Egypt.

Arnolet and Champy, the younger, undertook the mineral productions of the Red Sea, and to make their researches into the same.

To Girard was consigned the labour of producing a work on all the canals of Upper Egypt.

Denon was employed in Fayum and Upper Egypt, to produce drawings of the various interesting relics of remotest antiquity.\*

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\* Our march, says M. Denon, in continuation, on this day, February 1st, offered new deserts to our eye. We found the rocks to consist alternately of granite and decomposed free-stone, forming

Conté had the direction of the manufactory of mechanical arts ; he caused wind-mills to be constructed, toge-

a brittle friable crust, like scoria. In the vallies in which the sand abounds, the surface is smooth and tender like snow, so that the tracks of animals are perceived with the utmost ease, and one can instantly make out those that have passed since the last wind. —The most frequent prints of feet to be met with are those of the gazelle, a beautiful little animal, which is so shy and timid, that, after having taken its food on the banks of the river, it retires to conceal its fears in the silence of the desert. It excites a melancholy reflection to remark, that a beast of prey always follows the steps of this elegant and sprightly animal ; the vast space of the desert does not secure it against rapacity. I this day saw two of these animals, of the most delicate and elegant species of its numerous family. We marched slowly and painfully, stopping every minute to pull off our shoes and to take breath. In the afternoon, I found in the middle of the desert the trace of a grand antique road, bounded with large masses of hewn stone, which led in a straight line to Syene. In the afternoon the troops were so much fatigued, that, on quitting the desert, we halted at the first green spot which was capable of affording food for our horses ; I thought they would never be dragged from the place, nor our men again raised from the ground ; as for myself, I was absolutely wearied out, and remained all the night as if riveted to the soil. The next day, we had but three quarters of a league to march to rejoin our cavalry, which had only gone before to devour all the country would afford, before our arrival ; at last, however, we got in sight of Assum or Syene, the object of our destination. The soldier now forgot his fatigues, as if he had already arrived at the promised land, not remembering that, to return to a country of abundance, he must again cross the same painful desert which he had just left behind him ; but the past is nothing to the soldier, when he can snatch a little present gratification. For myself, however, I had the most reason to be satisfied, since I was going, for the first time in my life, to sit down and take a little breathing time in a country, which abounded with so many interesting objects for my researches.

The first good news we learned was, that the Mamelukes had not burned the boats, which they could not get over the cataracts. In the morning I ascended to the convent of St. Lawrence, which is but an indifferent ruin. Above is a watch-tower, from the lofty summit of which a most singular view presents itself to the eye ; it seems to be the end of the world, or rather a chaos, from which the air has already separated, and the watery element appears to gush from the earth, running in numerous channels, promising fertility to nature. The first effects of its bounties are seen around the granite rocks, in the hollows of which the sand and slime brought by the waves are deposited, forming a basis for vegetation, which continues to increase, and embrace a larger and wider field. At Elephantina, the cultivation, the trees, and the habitations, exhibit a picture of perfection in the gifts of nature, which has given rise to the Arabian name of *Ke-ziret-el-Sag*, or *the Flowery Island*.

On the third of February we crossed over to the right bank of the river, to take possession of Assum or Syene. Murad-Bey had

ther with an infinity of machines, until that period totally unknown in Egypt.

passed the cataracts and divided his force over a considerable tract of country, in order to find subsistence for his Mamelukes and their horses, and we were obliged to do the same with ours.

On the fifth, Desaix set out with the cavalry, to go in quest of Elfy-Bey, whom we had left behind us on the right bank of the Nile. I had not quitted Desaix since we left Cairo, and I feel some pride in saying, that the moment of parting was attended with mutual regret; we had spent together so many agreeable moments, riding a foot's pace, side by side, for twelve or fifteen hours successively, not in idle chat, but in waking dreams, and often after such long marches observing to each other: "How many things shall we have to talk of during the rest of our lives."

I went with General Beliard to take possession of the government of Syene, where our first employment was to get comfortably settled. We had very good quarters: it was the house of the *kiachef*, built of stone, with an upper story, terraces, and vaulted rooms: here we made beds, tables, and stools, and I found it a high luxury to undress myself, to sit and to lie down: our soldiers did the same. The second day after our establishment there were already in the streets of Syene, tailors, shoemakers, jewellers, French barbers with their poles, eating-houses, and *restaurateurs*, all at fixed prices.

The station of an army offers a picture of the most rapid exercise of every resource that industry can furnish; each individual sets all his abilities to work for the general advantage; but, what peculiarly characterizes a French army is, the establishing superfluities and amusements at the same time and with the same care as absolute necessities; thus we had gardens and coffee-houses, in which we amused ourselves in playing with cards manufactured at Syene. At one entrance of the village is a walk with straight rows of trees pointing to the north; our soldiers there set up a milestone, with this inscription, *Route de Paris, No. onze, cent soixante sept milles trois cents quarante*. It was some days after, having received a distribution of dates for their whole ration, that they entertained such pleasant or philosophic ideas. Nothing but death can put a period to valour combined with gaiety; the greatest misfortune can do nothing to effect it.

On this side of the river there are no other remains of the Egyptian town than a small square temple surrounded by a gallery, but so shattered and shapeless, that nothing can be seen but the embrasure between two pillars, with the capitals and a small part of the entablature; this fragment is what Savary, (who confesses that he never was at Syene,) relates on hear-say to be probably the remains of the ancient observatory, in which, according to him, the nilometer should be sought for. I ascertained this to be an error, of which, however, that ardent and elegant writer is not the author, as he has related every thing, pointed out every thing, and frequently painted in a surprising manner even what he had never seen.

Near this ruin, among the palm-trees, are the fragments of an edifice, which I think must be attributed to the Greek catholics; two

Savigny made a most valuable collection of the insects discovered in the deserts of Syria.

columns of granite are still left standing, with two door-cases of the same material, and on the ground are columns grouped against two faces of a single pilaster.

The island of Elephantina became at the same time my country-house, and my palace of delight, observation, and research; I think I must have turned over every loose stone, and questioned every rock in the island. It was at its southern extremity that the Egyptian town and the Roman habitations were situated, and the Arabian buildings which succeeded them. The part occupied by the Romans can only now be made out by the bricks, the tessellated pavements, and the small images of porcelain and bronze, which are still found; the Arab quarter is only distinguished by the dunghills with which they have covered the soil, a common feature in all the ruins of the edifices of this people. Every thing posterior to that time has disappeared, so as to leave scarcely any trace of its existence, whilst the Egyptian monuments remain devoted to posterity, and have resisted equally the ravages of man and of time. In the midst of this vast field of bricks and other pieces of baked earth, of which I have just spoken, a very ancient temple is still left standing, surrounded with a pilastered gallery, and two columns in the portico. Nothing is therefore wanting but two pilasters, on the left angle of this ruin. Other edifices had been attached to it at a later period, but only some fragments are remaining, to convey an idea of their form when perfect, and these only proved that the accessory parts were much larger than the original sanctuary. The latter is covered both within and without with hieroglyphics in relief, very well cut, and in good preservation.

Could this be the temple of Cneph, the good genius, who among the Egyptian gods approaches nearest to our ideas of the Supreme Being? Or is the temple of this deity one which is placed six hundred paces more to the north, of the same form and size, though more in ruins, all the ornaments of which are accompanied by the serpent, the emblem of wisdom and eternity, and peculiarly that of the god Cneph? To judge from what I have seen of Egyptian edifices, this supposed temple of Cneph is similar to what was used in the earliest times, and is absolutely the same species of temple as that of Kornu in Thebes, which appeared to me to be the most ancient of all in that city. The chief difference in the sculpture of this at Elephantina, which I have been able to discover is, that the figures have more life, the drapery is more flowing, and falls into a better form of composition. Of the last-mentioned edifice nothing is preserved but a column of the portico, and one whole side of a gallery, in pilasters.

In the middle of the island there are two frames of a large outer door, made of blocks of granite, and ornamented with hieroglyphics. These remains certainly indicate monuments of great magnificence, the extent of which might be ascertained by a little digging. At the east is another fragment of a very small and highly finished edifice; all that is seen of it is the west side of a narrow chamber, or a very small temple, the hieroglyphics that remain being perfectly well sculp-

**Beauchamp and Nouet composed an almanack that consisted of five calendars, comprising that of the French**

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tured. The ornaments are loaded with the lotus, particularly the flowers of that plant whose drooping stem appears to be revived by a figure watering it, the form in question being the same as one which I observed at Latopolis. This chamber or temple communicates with a narrower passage, which, to judge by the traces of a number of successive buildings, terminated on the gallery open to the Nile, and resting on a large embankment facing, which defended the eastern part of the island from being worn away by the current of the river. Three porticos of this gallery remain, and a flight of granite stairs which dip into the river. May not this gallery, this adorned chamber, and this staircase, be the observatory and the nilometer, which travellers have in vain sought for at Syene? Full of this idea, I examined carefully the stone facing of the stairs, but could find no traces of any gradation; the steps themselves, however, might serve as a scale, and the upper part of this staircase being blocked up with ruins, it is possible that the measures may be marked in this part which I could not examine.\*

All these buildings are founded upon masses of rock, covered with hieroglyphics engraved with more or less care. Further on, turning towards the north, are two portions of parapet, leaving between them an opening, through which one may descend to the river; on the inner side of the right parapet is a bas-relief in marble, representing the figure of the Nile, four feet in height, in the same attitude as a colossal statue of the same subject which is at Rome. This copy of the same idea proves the edifice to be Roman, and that this people, in their establishment at Syene, having had opportunity of adding the ornaments of luxury and superfluity to works of the first necessity, had established rather a powerful colony there, than a mere military post: the baths and valuable bronze utensils, which are daily found there, support an opinion as to the richness and permanency of this colony.

The island of Elephantina, defended on the south by breakers, has been doubtless much increased towards the north by alluvial soil. This soon becomes converted into cultivated lands and pleasant gardens, which being kept perpetually watered by means of wheels and buckets, produce four or five crops yearly; and thus the inhabitants are numerous, in easy circumstances, and courteous. When I hailed them from the opposite shore, they would come across for me in their boats, and I was soon surrounded with all the children, who offered me for sale fragments of antiquity and rough carnelians. With a few crowns I made a great number of those little ones happy, and gained the good will of their parents, who invited me, prepared breakfast in the temples where I set up my drawing apparatus; in short, I

\* Strabo, who had observed Syene with care, and has described it minutely, says, that this nilometer was a well which received the Nile waters, and that the marks by which the height of the inundation was estimated were engraved on the sides of the well.



Republic and those of the Roman, Greek, Copht, and Mussulman churches.

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appeared like the master of a garden, which contained in reality all one seeks to imitate in decorated gardens in Europe; here were islets, rocks, deserts, plains, meadows, garden-ground, open groves, hamlets, dark woods, remarkable in profusion, plants, a river, canals, mills, and sublime ruins! a spot still more enchanting, since, like the gardens of Armida, it was surrounded by all the horrors of nature, and those of the Thebais, a contrast with which increased the enjoyments of this delightful island. Having all my senses and my imagination equally in activity, I never passed hours more deliciously occupied than those which I devoted to my solitary walks at Elephantina; an island which alone is worth more than the whole territory which lies adjacent to the town.

The population of Syene is numerous: the trade, however, is confined to senna and dates, and these two articles produce a sufficient return to pay all the other wants of the inhabitants, to maintain a kiachef, a governor, and a Turkish garrison. The senna which grows around Syene is of a moderate quality; when sold, it is fraudulently mixed with that which grows wild in the desert, brought hither by the Baraba, and sold at nearly a hundredth part of what we give for it in Europe. It is true that it pays in its passage a number of duties, and is one of the most important articles of the custom-houses of Cairo and Alexandria. The second produce of exportation is that of dates; they are small and dry, but so abundant, that, besides constituting the principal food of the inhabitants, large boats loaded with them are daily sent down the river to Lower Egypt.

We learnt by our spies that the Mamelukes had ascended the stream, remaining as little removed as they could above the cataracts, ravaging the two shores of the Nile, which still supplied them with some forage. They had hitherto drawn supplies of flour and dates from Deir and Bribes; but the aga who resided there signified to them that this supply must be stopped. They occupied ten leagues in extent on each bank; their rear guard was no more than four leagues from us, so they knew every step we took, as we in our turn were informed of all their movements, by the same means, and perhaps, even by the same emissaries, who served both parties faithfully, and with equal exactitude.

General Davoust had met with Assan-Bey on the right bank of the river, opposite Etfu, at the moment when he was coming down to the Nile for water; the imminent danger he was in of losing all his equipage made him charge with fury; while the eagerness of our men to get possession of it, and a little contempt for the enemy, with which the battle of Samanhut had inspired them, made them attack with too much negligence. This battle of two hundred cavalry on each side was rather an affray than a regular combat, and both parties gave proof of the highest valour. The charge lasted half an hour; the field of battle remained with the French; but Assan-Bey obtained his main point, that of saving his baggage: on our side, we had from thirty to forty killed, and as many wounded; twelve Mamelukes

Costard edited a journal, and Fournier, Secretary of the Institute, was appointed Commissary of the Divan.

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perished, and many of them were disabled; Assan was hurt in the leg, so that neither party had any thing to boast from this encounter.

We went in search of the barks which the Mamelukes had endeavoured to navigate above the cataracts, and wished at the same time to visit in our way the quarries in the granite rocks, from whence the blocks were hewn which formed the materials for the colossal statues that have been the object of admiration for so many ages, and the ruins of which still strike us with astonishment. It seemed as if the sculptors wished to preserve the memorial of the masses that have produced these blocks, by leaving on the place hieroglyphic inscriptions which perhaps record the event. The operation resorted to in detaching, must have been nearly the same as is employed in the present day, that is to say, a cleft is first cut out, and then the whole mass is split off by means of wedges of different sizes, all struck in at one time. The marks of these first operations are preserved so fresh in this unalterable material, that to look at them one would suspect that the work had been interrupted only yesterday.

A league and a half below the quarries the rocks increase, and form a bar in the river, where we found the Mameluke barks fixed between the rocks, up to the first well below the falls; the peasants of the neighbourhood had taken out the rigging and the provisions. We here quitted the little boat in which we had ascended, and walking by the side of the stream for about a quarter of an hour, we came to the part which is generally called *the cataracts*. This is nothing but a range of rocks, over which the river flows, forming in some places cascades a few inches in height: they are perfectly insignificant.

The mountains, the surface of which is broken by black and rugged projections, are reflected with their gloomy aspect on the clear mirror of the stream below, which is broken and divided by sharp points of granite that roughen its channel, and form long white lines of foam, wherever any of these rocks impede its smooth surface. These rough shapeless masses, with their dark hues, form a striking contrast with the soft green of the groups of palm-trees that clustre around the irregular cliffs, and with the celestial azure blue of the clearest sky over the face of the earth. After passing the cataracts the rocks grow loftier, till the eye all at once discovers the magnificent monuments of the island of Philœ, which form a brilliant contrast. The Nile here makes a bend, where the monuments are only separated by tufts of palm-trees, or rocks that appear to be left merely to contrast the forms of nature with the magnificence of art, and to collect, in one rich spot, every thing that is most beautiful and impressive.

There were no inhabitants on the shore; they had quitted even the isle of Philœ, and had retired to a second and larger island, from which they sent forth loud and savage cries, which we understood were excited by their fears. We endeavoured to persuade them to send us a boat, which was moored to their bank, but without success.

Berthollet and Monge were at the head of all these labours and enterprises; they were found in every direction,

Some days after, we learnt that the Mamelukes of the right bank were coming to forage within two leagues of our posts. We prepared to resist them, and set out with four hundred men, advancing towards Philoë by land, taking the rout across the desert. This road has one peculiarity, which is, that there are evident remains of its having been traced out, and raised as a causeway, and that there was much traffic upon it in former times. This is the only part of Egypt where a high road is absolutely necessary; but the Nile ceasing to be navigable on account of the cataracts, all the merchandize of the Ethiopian trade which is landed at Philoë must be transported by land to Syene, in order to be there re-embarked. The several large blocks of stone we met with in the way were covered with hieroglyphics, as if left there for the amusement of the passengers. One of the most singular of these presents the form of a seat cut out of the solid rock, with a flight of steps to climb up to it; and the whole ornamented with hieroglyphics, the greater number of which are executed with infinite care.

Another singular object near this road, is the ruins of military lines, made of bricks baked in the sun, the bases of which are from fifteen to twenty feet in thickness. This intrenchment extended along the valley by the road side, and terminated at the rocks and forts near three leagues from Syene. Though the materials of which these walls were built were cheap enough, the expense of putting them together must have been very great, and shews the importance attached to the defence of this point. Can these be the remains of the famous wall raised by a queen of Egypt, named Zuleikha, daughter of Ziha, one of the Pharaohs, which extended from ancient Syene to the place where El-Arish is now situated, and the fragments of which the Arabs call *haif-el-adjowz*, or "the old woman's wall?"

We found the natives of Philoë returned to their habitations, but fully determined not to receive us. We attributed this ill-will to the fear which we gave them, and continued our journey. Beyond Philoë the river is quite open and navigable; but after having passed an Arab fort and a mosque of the same age, the shore of the Nile becomes impracticable for travellers; and instead of a profusion of monuments and inscriptions, we only saw a barren soil left to itself, and on the rocks a few habitations, which resembled the huts of savages. We entered a desert which cut an angle of the river, in order to shorten our way; and after having for several hours travelled along valleys which were as deep and hollow as if the country were constantly exposed to storms and torrents, the Nile again opened upon us through a ravine which led to Taudi, an indifferent village on the bank of the river. At our approach the Mamelukes abandoned this place, leaving behind them their plates, their kettles, and even the soup they had made, which they intended to eat at sun-set, for it was the month of Ramadan, a kind of Lent, during which all the Mussulmans, even to the soldiery, eat nothing whilst the sun is above the horizon.

superintending useful establishments, or directing researches for important discoveries.

While these learned individuals pursued their respective occupations with indefatigable industry, Napoleon, though unceasingly occupied in organizing Egypt, and preparing a code of legislation, was no less alive to scientific labours. Having passed the Red Sea, as before stated, he visited the fountains of Moses, performed the perilous journey to the isthmus of Suez, discovered the remains of that canal, and caused a geometrical plan to be drawn out by the engineer Peyre, a labour, observes General Berthier, which would at length resolve the grand problem of the existence of one of the greatest and most important works ever performed by man.

To the above details we will now subjoin a list of the

We sent out a spy during the night; and learnt, that at day-break the Mamelukes who were at Demiet, four leagues higher than Taudi, thinking themselves too near us, had fed their horses and set out at midnight. Our object in driving them further off being fulfilled, we set out to return to Syene. I had already seen enough of Ethiopia, of the Gublis and their wives, whose extreme ugliness can only be equalled by the savage jealousy of their husbands. I saw some of the women, for as I gave the men less apprehension than our soldiers, they placed a number of them under my protection in a cabin, before the door of which I had taken up my quarters for the night. They had been caught by surprise at the sudden arrival of our people at the close of evening, and had no time to fly and hide themselves in the rocks, or to swim across the river. They appeared to have the sullen stupidity of downright savages. A rugged soil, fatigue and insufficient food, must, doubtless impair in them all the charms of nature, and imprint even in youth the marks of decrepitude. But the men seem to be of another species; for their features are delicate, their skins fine, their countenances quick and animated, and their eyes and teeth admirable. Lively and intelligent, they appear to throw so much clearness and consciousness in their language, that a short phrase is always a complete answer to questions that are put to them: their vivacity more resembles ours than that of the other oriental nations: they are quick in understanding and serving, still more nimble in thieving, and have a greediness for money, which keeps pace with their great frugality, and can only be justified by their extreme poverty. To these reasons we may impute their leanness, which is not at all connected with ill health, for their colour, though black, is full of life and blood, but their muscles are only tendons, absolutely without fat, so that I did not see a single person among them who could even be called plump.

members who composed the Egyptian Institute, and, in short, of all the learned men and artists who were attached to that memorable expedition.

Institute of Egypt established at Grand Cairo by order of General Bonaparte.

*Class of Mathematics.*

MM. Andreossy, Bonaparte, Costaz, Fourier, Girard, Lepère, Leroi, Malus, Monge, Nouet, Quesnot, and Say.

*Class of Physics.*

MM. Berthollet, Champy, Conté, Delille, Descotils, Desgenettes, Dolomieu, Dubois, Geoffroy, and Savigny.

*Class of Political Economy.*

MM. Caffarelli, Gloutier, Poussielgue, Sulkowski, Sacy, and Tallien.

*Class of Literature and the Arts.*

MM. Denon, Dutertre, Norry, Parseval, Redouté, Rigel, Venture, Rigot, and D. Raphaël.

This Academy held many sittings, at which Napoleon proposed the following questions, for the examination of which commissioners were duly appointed.—*First*: What are the means to be adopted in order to economize the combustibles required for heating the ovens of the army? *Second*: Are there any means of supplying a substitute for hops in the brewing of beer? *Third*: What means should be resorted to to freshen and purify the waters of the Nile? *Fourth*: Which are most expedient to construct wind or water mills? *Fifth*: Does Egypt in itself afford materials for the manufacture of gunpowder? *Sixth*: In what state is judicial order and instruction in Turkey? Messieurs. Andreossy and Berthollet read memoirs upon the fifth question.

Learned Men and Artists attached to the Egyptian Expedition.

*Geometry.*

MM. Fourier, Costaz, Corancez the younger, Charbaud, Devilliers, Viard, Vincent, and Say.

*Astronomy.*

MM. Dangos, Nouet, Quesnot, and Mechain, the younger.

*Mechanics.*

MM. Monge, Conté, Maisiere, Cecile, Aimés, Aisés, the younger, Cassard, Lenoir, the younger, Cirot, Couvreur, Hassœnfratz, the younger, Favier, and Dubois.

*Clockmakers.*

MM. Lemaitre, Thomas, and Bréguet, the younger.

*Chemistry.*

MM. Berthollet, Descotils, Samuel Bernard, Regnault, Champy, Pottier, and Pignat.

*Mineralogy.*

MM. Dolomieu, Cordier, Rozieres, Nepveu, and Victor Dupuy.

*Botany.*

MM. Thouin, Nectour, Delille, Coquebert, the younger, and Milbert.

*Zoology.*

MM. Geoffroy, Savigny, Ducharnoy, Gerard, and Redouté.

*Surgery.*

MM. Dubois, Labate, Lacipiere, Dubois, the younger, Ronqueville, and Bessieres.

*Pharmacy.*

MM. Boudet, Roguin, and Rouyer.

*Antiquities.*

MM. Leblond, Pourlier, and Ripault.

*Architecture.*

MM. Noroy, Balzac, and Protain.

*Artists.*

MM. Dutertre, Rigo, and Bandouin.

*Literature.*

MM. Lepere, Girard, Bodard, Gratien Lepere, Saint Genis, Debaudre, Duval, Faye, Lancret, Fevre, Jollois,  
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Thevenot, Chabrolle, Raffeneau, Arnolet, Hyacinthe Lepere, Panuzen, Chezy.

*Geography.*

MM. Lafenillade, Leduc, Leveque, Bourgeois, Fauris, Benazet, Corabœuf, Dulion, Jomard, Lacesne, Larosche, Bertre, Potier, Greslis, Boucher, and Chaumont.

*Typography.*

MM. Marcel, Dizierand, Puntis, Gallant, Baudoin, Langier, Eberhart, Laforie, Cruzy, Beason, Ramelet, Barrier, Marquoy, Boulangee, Boyer, Jardin, Rivet, Very, Dubois, Gransart, Marlet, Lethioux, and Castera.

Having concluded the list of those individuals who so eminently contributed to render the Egyptian expedition a source of scientific and useful information to the world, we shall now resume the detail of M. Miôt.

“ I have already said, that the rarity of French women had rendered precious the small number which had followed the army. The want of a companion with whom we might converse, and understand, lent charms even to the least handsome. Thus the wives of soldiers and sutlers had become the mistresses of many generals and superior officers. It was necessary to be content with what could be obtained. Others had taken to their homes the females abandoned by the Mamelukes, some of whom were beautiful; and all, in giving us lessons in Arabic, learnt to pronounce words of French; however, it did not always happen that they retained the most decent. In this manner we formed societies, and sometimes exchanges which were sufficiently extravagant. Entertainments were given, in which we enjoyed our punch, we laughed, we became giddy in talking of Paris, and we no longer remembered Egypt; sometimes the female dancers of the country were introduced for the diversion of the assembly; their lascivious movements pleased our imaginations by their graceful figures; or the expert jugglers of the country, who displayed, to our great surprise, all the cunning of their science,—they caused even the

most hideous and disgusting serpents and insects to dance in measured steps before us."

"The Turks, on their part, enriched themselves by us. They readily imitated all the works of French manufacture; they were excellent embroiderers, and luxury, which our residence in Egypt might have been expected to destroy, re-established itself by their labours."

"All the army had the finest bread and flesh of the buffalo. This meat though not, perhaps, equal to that of the ox, was not bad, and custom soon reconciled us to the difference of colour. The mutton proved much superior, its enormous tail contained a great quantity of fat: I have seen some of these tails, which weighed from twelve to fourteen pounds each."

"Bonaparte, scarcely arrived in Cairo, occupied himself in new clothing the army. Of this the troops returned from Syria stood in the greatest need, and the difficulty of procuring a sufficient quantity of blue cloth caused all colours to be adopted. One regiment appeared in red, another in green, a third in yellow, &c. &c. In a word, he took all the dispositions necessary to place the army in a state to fight new battles. He foresaw the storms which were gathering in Asia and Europe;—a residence in Egypt would justly alarm the English, and we could not imagine that they would quietly leave us to form an establishment so dangerous to their commerce."

"I was beginning, after so many fatigues, to enjoy that repose at Cairo, which had been so dearly purchased, when, on the morning of the 24th of June, I received orders to hold myself in readiness to accompany General Murat. I accordingly waited upon him; it was simply to go upon an excursion against the Arabs, who had established themselves to the south of Cairo, on the right bank of the Nile. The instructions of the General-in-Chief were that we should turn the hill of Mokattam, and, combining our march in the desert, arrive at the first dawn of day before the camp of the Arabs, situated near a village



which was indicated to us. We took with us some cavalry, and a small detachment of infantry to escort our convoy of camels, which carried our water and provisions."

"We commenced our march in the afternoon, and, passing through the gate of Lacoube, turned the hill of Mokattam, following the route which was pointed out to us by an Arabian guide, and we thus marched all the evening. Before we halted we passed through a valley of sand, in the middle of which I perceived pieces of "*petrified wood* of an uncommon magnitude. These were the trunks and branches of trees almost entire. I never before saw any thing equally surprising; and the quantity of these astonishing fragments plainly indicated that there had formerly existed in this place a forest of considerable extent. Further on was the appearance of the ancient bed of a river. I made a note of these singular discoveries, which a few days afterwards, on our return to Cairo, I transmitted to M. Monge."

"It need not be a subject of surprise, that travellers have not mentioned this petrified forest, which is situated at about three leagues distant in a direct line, south-east, from Cairo; for, from the frequent well known local changes in the deserts, an object discovered this day will be in a short time engulfed in the sand, whilst another, sunk to a profound depth, may, by a very simple and common cause in Egypt, return again to the surface."

"The hills move with the least wind, and the light sand, driven as it were on the surface of the earth or raised in the air, fills up the vallies, or heaps against the first obstacle that it encounters. By this continual fluctuation of the soil, the desert incessantly encroaches upon the productive and cultivated part of the country on the banks of the Nile. It happens frequently enough in Egypt that whole villages in the vicinity of the desert are abandoned by their inhabitants, the houses or rather huts being with difficulty distinguishable under the sands in which they are swallowd up."

“ We marched during the night, and in proportion as we approached the end of our little expedition, the ground changed, and we passed in the midst of precipitate and very unequal hills. The moon disappearing at an early hour, we were left in darkness and our guide misled us. The next morning, at break of day, we were greatly surprised to find ourselves in the middle of the deserts, and no longer able to perceive the banks of the Nile. There could be no risk in proceeding upon our right, but the object of our excursion was already lost. We arrived by day at the village occupied by the tribe of which we were in chase, but we did not, however, find them there, and we halted in this place during the night to refresh our men.”

“ General Rampon, who had re-ascended the Nile with some troops to pass into one of the provinces of Upper Egypt, had given the first alarm to the Arabs, and the villagers, by the means which they habitually employed, had successively announced to each other the news of the arrival of the French. The means thus resorted to in order to indicate the moment of assembly for an engagement, were as follows. The country being level, the minarets of one village are easily perceived from those of another in the vicinity; a sufficient quantity of dust cast from the summits, at one or more times, forms a small cloud which is distinguished from the next minaret; and these signals, thus repeated from village to village, serve them instead of telegraphs.”

“ Next morning we again threw ourselves into the sands, in expectation of coming up with the enemy, who, obliged suddenly to decamp, had not been able to proceed to any considerable distance, on account of their cattle and their camels. In effect, after having marched some hours, we discovered a number of women, abandoned in the ravines with the flocks and their children. The men had not feared to leave them to our discretion, persuaded probably, that we should not injure them. Having thus

succeeded in dispersing the tribe of the enemy, the object of our excursion was in some measure accomplished. The same evening we re-approached the Nile to pass the night, and on the 28th of June, at an early hour, again entered Cairo. I have only spoken of this excursion that I might relate the discovery of the *petrified forest*, which appeared to me no less singular than interesting."

"Scarcely had we resumed our usual mode of life, at Cairo, when, General Murat was again ordered, July 10th,<sup>3</sup> to put himself in march with a column of cavalry and infantry, while General Lagrange departed the same day to surprise a party of Mamelukes at Sehabiar."

"The occasion of the movements which preceded the battle of Aboukir, were as follows. The Mamelukes of Upper Egypt had separated. Murad-Bey had descended the left, and another corps, the right bank of the Nile, to give assistance to Ibrahim-Bey, who had returned to Gaza. The Mamelukes expected every moment the debarkation of an army, whose succour they had reckoned upon, and which they were to follow up by new efforts."

"General Lagrange had it in charge to follow the Mamelukes upon the right bank, and General Murat, if possible, to overtake Murad. The two Beys were, perhaps, about to form a junction and to give battle; this, however, did not take place. Murad-Bey, who had directed his march upon the lakes of Natron, having learnt that they were already occupied by the French, retired upon the great Pyramids, where Murat followed him. In the mean time, General Lagrange had arrived at Sehabiar, and obliged the Mamelukes to retreat into the desert."

"Bonaparte, informed of the retrograde movement of Murad-Bey, left Cairo, July 14th, with his guides and different troops, and advanced towards the Pyramids, where he joined General Murat. The General-in-Chief here received a letter from Alexandria, which announced,

that a Turkish fleet of one hundred sail had anchored off Aboukir. He comprehended at once the plan of the enemy, and to take the necessary dispositions, immediately returned to Gizeh. From thence, during the night, he despatched orders to the Generals of the army. Desaix re-approached Cairo in all haste; and a strong moveable column observed the motions of Murad-Bey, to prevent his throwing himself upon the side of Aboukir. Kleber, with a part of his division, quitted Damietta to repair to Rosetta, while General Regnier received instructions to observe, with increased vigilance, the entrances of the desert which separated him from Ibrahim-Bey."

"The intelligence of this debarkation disturbed our tranquillity, and, although confident in our means, we were unable to await, without the liveliest impatience, the result of an affair which would decide our fate. Measures were taken at Cairo to ensure the French, in case of a revolt of the inhabitants, a safe retreat to the citadel, which had been put in a state of defence. We even transported there immediately a part of the papers concerning the administration of the army. General Dugua had the command of the city, whose prudence and wisdom, during this crisis, preserved the most perfect calm."

"Bonaparte, with his head-quarters, quitted Gizeh on the 16th of July, and arrived on the 20th at Rahmanieh, where all the troops united on the 21st and 22d."

On the 21st he wrote to the Divan of Rosetta; "I write this letter to inform you," said Napoleon, "that I am arrived at Rahmanieh, and that I am preparing to proceed against those who wish to disturb the tranquillity of Egypt. God has submitted it to my power, to the end that I might restore it to its ancient splendour. To accomplish his decrees, he has given me a force sufficient to annihilate my enemies, &c."

On the following day, the 22d, Bonaparte despatched the following to the Divan at Cairo! "Twenty-

four vessels, small and large, presented themselves to attack Alexandria; but, having been received with balls and bombs, they have anchored off Aboukir, where they have commenced disembarking. I shall permit them to do this, because my purpose is, when they are landed, to attack them, to slay all those who do not surrender, and to give quarter to others, that I may lead them prisoners, which will be a most delightful sight for the city of Cairo. On board this fleet there are Russians, who abhor those who place faith in the unity of God, because, according to their falsehoods, they believe that there are three: but they shall not wait to see that it is not the number of Gods which gives power. The Mussulman, who is embarked on a vessel that hoists the cross, he who continually hears the only God blasphemed, is even worse than an infidel. It is my desire, that you make known these things, &c."

"Bonaparte ascertained from General Marmont, at Rahmanieh, that the Turks, who first disembarked at Aboukir, to the number of three thousand men, had attacked the fort, which capitulated, and that, in following up this success, the rest of the enemy's army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, had established themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir, where they were intrenched and fortified. Bonaparte concluded, from this intelligence, that the Turks expected the arrival of the Arabs and Mamelukes, and that there was not a moment to be lost to destroy so dangerous a coalition. He immediately put the army in motion, and repaired himself to Alexandria, which he quitted, on the evening of the 24th of July, to occupy a position at the wells, between Alexandria and Aboukir. This point became the rendezvous of the army."

"In the night, Bonaparte had an interview with General Murat; they discoursed on the result of the battle which was to take place the ensuing day; and, in the course of his conversation, Bonaparte exclaimed, "*This*

*battle will decide the fate of the world."* General Murat, astonished, and whose ideas were entirely fixed upon the important affair, which the sun would soon enlighten, replied, "At least the fate of the army; but I must assure you, General, that there is not a soldier who does not feel the necessity of conquering,—and we shall conquer. The enemy has no cavalry, yours is brave, and I engage, that if ever infantry were charged by cavalry, the Turks shall be charged by mine."

"This anecdote, a new proof of the prophetic tone which Bonaparte affected to adopt, and which, perhaps, at length terminated in deceiving even himself, is also an evident proof, that he, at that period, contemplated his departure. He had then, probably, received the intelligence which determined him to abandon his army in Egypt; at least, it is the only way in which I can account for this exclamation. In effect, the victory which Bonaparte promised himself at Aboukir, might ensure the possession of Egypt during an uncertain period; yet this occupation, however important, *would not decide the fate of the world*, unless Bonaparte, pre-occupied with the great changes over which he was about to preside, attached all the interest of the expected event of "the battle to his own person. His lively and ardent imagination placed him at the head of the French government, and rapidly developed to him all those powerful means which he would have at his disposal to introduce a new order of things, and act a more important part in Europe. Being assuredly informed of what was passing in France, he saw the people, agitated and dissatisfied, under an uncertain government, uniting themselves with ardour around the warrior covered with glory, and on whom alone reposed their hopes of quiet and prosperity. Once master of the sovereign power, he would only have to direct that military spirit, which the love of a chimerical liberty had inspired. He should soon extend his influence to the neighbouring states, with all that expansion of sentiment

which would conduct us to glory, and had already rendered us formidable to the powers vainly coalesced against us. By opening an immense career to ambition, Napoleon attached all those to himself, who, in a state that is reforming, push themselves forward and sacrifice every thing to acquire fortune. In a word, he saw the French, impelled to action by the warrior, who had, until then, uniformly led them on to victory, decree to him, as the price of his glorious successes, the throne as a recompense, with the finest empire for an heritage. His imagination, inflamed with this brilliant picture, prompted him, no doubt, to believe that he was the arbiter of Europe, and that thus the battle of Aboukir, as it would seal his own fate, would also decide that of the universe. Not having been personally present at the famous day of the 25th of July, and being unwilling to interrupt the course of events, I shall refer my reader to the report of General Berthier."

CHAP. IV.

*Desaix's Expedition to Upper Egypt—Takes the Town of Behnese—Battle of Sedinan—Description of the Ophthalmia—the French take Fayum, Sicut, and Girgeh—General Rapp made Colonel at the Battle of Samanhout—Battles of Aboumanah and Souhama—The Yambodian Arabs attack the French Flotilla—Victory of Copthos—Battle of Benout—Denon's Note continued—Attack on Philoë and Expulsion of the Inhabitants—Monuments in that Island—Different periods of Egyptian Architecture—French Fort erected at Syene—Ancient Monuments of Cenobites beyond the Cataracts—Battle of Kenek—Actions of Bardis, Girgeh, and Baramba—Capture of Beneadi—Account of Murad-Bey.*

HAVING amply detailed the operations of Napoleon in Syria, the failure of his attack on Saint Jean d'Acre, and subsequent return to Cairo; it now becomes our task to say something respecting the proceedings of General Desaix, in Upper Egypt. It will be perceived from the journal of M. Denon, who accompanied the General, that we have pretty amply dwelt upon, the march of the French, and the difficulties they had to encounter; in consequence of that circumstance we shall curtail the narrative as much as possible, and by this means the more speedily resume the thread of the life of Bonaparte.

Desaix, having received orders to march in pursuit of Murad-Bey, embarked, on the Nile, the 25th August, 1798. On the 31st of the same month he arrived at Bench, and took a position before that town, where he remained until the 4th of September, and on the following



day advanced to Aba Girge, where he ascertained that the Mamelukes were at Behnese, when he proceeded, on the 20th, to reconnoitre their position. After a difficult march, during which the troops had to ford many lakes, Desaix advanced against Behnese, which he gained, as the baggage of the enemy passed the canal of Joseph.

On the 7th September the French gained Aba Girge; on the 12th they advanced to Tarat el Cherif, and on the 13th took a position at the entrance of the canal St. Joseph. Hearing the Mamelukes, who continually kept retiring, were in force at Siut, he proceeded thither, despatching a force to occupy Tarut el Cherif, for the purpose of keeping open a communication with Cairo, and on the 14th he arrived at Siut, from whence the enemy fled at his approach.

On the 17th, Desaix advanced under the hope of coming up with the Mamelukes, but they uniformly fled before him, on the 21st he returned to the canal St. Joseph. On the 23d the French resumed their march and entered Bahr Joseph, leaving six armed vessels on the Nile to guard the entrance of the canal and the river near Tarut el Cherif.

On the 3d of October the General desoried Murad-Bey, posted on the heights near the village of Menekiah. Desaix, having made his arrangements, was in hopes of bringing the enemy to action, but a few cannon-shots being fired the Mamelukes, as upon every former occasion, retired. On the 7th, at sun-rise, General Desaix having learned that it was the intention of Murad-Bey to wait his approach, ranged his forces in order for battle, when the sanguinary conflict of Sedinan, so amply detailed by M. Denon, took place. In this affair the whole division, generals, officers, and soldiers, behaved in a manner that redounded to their immortal glory, as the Mamelukes were six times more numerous than the French, and so situated that a retreat of the latter to their vessels could only have been effected by the abandonment of the

wounded to the barbarity of their enemies. On the 8th of October, the division, together with the flotilla, set out for Illahon, where, upon its arrival, it seized a number of the enemy's flotilla.

After the battle of Sedinan, Desaix forwarded his wounded to Cairo, whither he had previously despatched four hundred men affected with the *ophthalmia*,\* a disease occasioned by the vapours of the Nile, and unhappily very prevalent in Egypt.

On the 6th of November, Desaix left Fayum to quell the insurgents who had been instigated by Murad-Bey to revolt, when the natives were soon brought to subjection. Murad-Bey, taking advantage of the General's absence,

\* "In cases of *ophthalmia* the anguish of the affected part (the eyes,) is acute, nearly to delirium, whilst the unhappy patient retains a consciousness that his agonies may probably terminate in the loss of those organs, as precious as existence. The disorder is believed to originate in the nitrous particles emitted from the ground by the force of the sun, which are of a quality so pungent and penetrating, as to injure the fine vessels at the corner of the eye. The acrid and burning dust, flying continually in the atmosphere, irritates still more the affected part; whilst the reflection of the soil, the heat of the air, and livid light of the sky, tend to weaken the sight, which ultimately occasions that excessive inflammation denominated *ophthalmia*. When the disorder has actually taken place, the patient suffers the most excruciating pains, which are described as if the balls of the eye were on fire, and the points of needles perpetually piercing them. The abscess formed under the eyelids discharges a considerable quantity of moisture, which frequently turns to matter, every membrane swells, and the whole eye becomes frightfully distorted.

"The affection of the malady is sometimes extremely sudden, which induces a supposition, that checked perspiration frequently and severely contributes to produce the disease. In a few hours the inflammation has often attained an alarming height, of which no precise crisis can be anticipated. With some the disorder lasts only nine days; in others, the patients have suffered for months; and, unfortunately, there is no security, even after perfect recovery, against an immediate fresh attack.

"*Ophthalmia* is epidemical in Egypt, its extirpation can scarcely be expected; but an acquaintance with all the different cases has enabled the European physicians to discover remedies which have rendered this disease, in some degree, less fatal. Opium was found the best application."

Sir R. T. Wilson, *K.M.T. on the Diseases of Egypt.*

despatched a corps against Fayum, as well as to support the revolted in its vicinity; but General Robin and the Chief-of-battalion, Expert, so well defended the place, that the Mamelukes were driven out, by the inhabitants of Fayum assisting the French in pursuit of the enemy. Desaix, having learned the dangerous state of the place, had marched to its succour, and arrived there on the 29th December, when he was agreeably surprised on learning the victory gained by his forces during his absence, upon which he instantly advanced towards the provinces of Benesuef and Miniet, in order to anticipate Murad-Bey in the receipt of the revenues of those districts.

Bonaparte had forwarded Davoust with a reinforcement for General Desaix, ordering that Murad-Bey should be vigorously pursued, even to the cataracts of the Nile, and that the Mamelukes should either be exterminated or driven out of Egypt. Murad advanced towards the Nile, which he made preparations to ascend, while Desaix, from whom he was distant twelve hours march, in vain endeavoured to come up with him.

Murad retired towards Upper Said, the French pursuing by forced marches, who gained Siut on the 24th and Girgeh on the 29th; but the flotilla, detained by contrary winds, could not keep up with these rapid movements. Murad, profiting by the consequent delays of the French, had written to the chiefs of the provinces of Jedda and Yamb, in Arabia, to co-operate with him in *exterminating a handful of infidels, who sought to destroy the religion of Mahomet!*

On the 1st of January, 1799, Desaix learned that the peasants had risen in revolt, and were assembled in arms near Souage, a few leagues from Girgeh. Feeling the absolute necessity of quelling this tumult, Davoust was commanded to attack the mal-contents, whom he put to flight, after killing upwards of eight hundred. Desaix then ascertained that another corps, even more formidable, had taken up arms, when he ordered the same Gene-

ral to proceed and inflict on them a terrible chastisement, which he effected by the destruction of upwards of one thousand insurgents, the rest being put to a precipitate flight.

General Desaix, at this period, ascertained that a considerable force had crossed the Red Sea to Cosseir, and joined Murad-Bey; that Hassan and Osman Bey had arrived at Houa, where a strong body of Nubians and Maugrabins were encamped, while nearly all the population of Upper Egypt, through the exertions of the Mamelukes, from Girgeh to the cataracts, were in arms, and ready for action; and, finally, that Murad, relying on his numerous reinforcements, was in full march to attack the French forces. This information was soon verified, as the enemy's advanced guard, under Osman Bey, on the 21st January, took a position near the heights of Samanhout.

On the 22d, Desaix came up with the main body, and ranged his troops for battle, on which occasion Rapp\* and Savary headed the hussars; the General attacked the Mamelukes with such impetuosity, that they were put to flight, during which a carabineer, who was in the act of carrying off the standard of Mecca, was stabbed with a poignard, being the only man killed on the side of the French, who, by this victory, obtained possession of Samanhout.†

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\* In the Memoirs of General Rapp, that gallant officer, in reference to his promotion, when in Egypt, under the intrepid and virtuous General Desaix, states as follows:—

“ Having become the Aid-de-Camp of the modest conqueror of Offenburgh (Desaix), I fought under him in the campaigns of Germany and Egypt. I was made the chief of a squadron at Sedinan, where I had the happiness, at the head of two hundred brave troops, to carry off the last remnant of the Turkish artillery; and I was promoted to the rank of colonel at Samanhout, near the ruins of Thebes. I was severely wounded in this last affair, but I was honourably mentioned in the despatches of the General-in-Chief.”

† All the villages in Egypt have high mud walls, flanked with little towers of the same material, to protect them from the Bedouin Arabs.

Notwithstanding this first advantage, the innumerable forces of the enemy rallied, and, with frightful yells, advanced towards the French, as if resolved on renewing the attack. This endeavour was accompanied by no better success than the previous attack, as the contest terminated by a complete route of these countless hordes, of whom three hundred were killed, and an immense number wounded.

On the 23d January, the pursuit of Murad-Bey was resumed; on the 28th, Desaix arrived at Esneh; and, on the 29th, he marched for Syene, which he gained on the 1st of February. The General, on the 2d, advanced to Philoë, in Ethiopia, and, on the 4th, again proceeded for Esneh, where he arrived with the cavalry on the 9th.

At day-break, on the 12th, General Davoust was assured that Osman-Bey was on the banks of the river, when he advanced with his cavalry, and a dreadful carnage took place, for, notwithstanding the superiority of the arms, as well as the numbers of the Mamelukes, they were compelled to leave the field of battle, retreating into the desert by the route their camels had taken, several kiachefs being killed in the action. In this brilliant affair, Montleger, aid-de-camp to Davoust, particularly distinguished himself, for, after having been severely wounded in the heat of the engagement, and his horse being killed under him, he rushed forward, seized the charger of one of the Mamelukes, and then plunged into the thickest of the fight.

On the 14th, Desaix returned to Esneh, which place he left on the following day for Houa, which he entered on the 17th. During this period, General Friant arrived

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At night a constant guard is mounted, and the faithful dog, who, in Egypt, is treated with such barbarity, protects the thankless master's property; for the magazines of corn are formed on the outsides of the walls, otherwise they would be too extended for the inhabitants of the village to defend."—*Sir R. T. Wilson, K. M. T.*

at Aboumanah, where he found multitudes in arms, whom he attacked and put to flight, the loss of the peasantry in this affair being very considerable.

After the battle of Aboumanah, General Friant marched to Girzeh, and, during this interval, Desaix learned from General Beliard, that Murad-Bey had intended to make a movement against Syene, but that having marched to his encounter, he had forced him to retire to the sterile plains of Barbara; that Murad had subsequently avoided Syene, and formed a junction with Osman-Bey, near Kittah; that they were on their route to Etfu, and pursued, but without effect. By other accounts, Desaix ascertained that Elfi Bey, who had been separated from the main body at the battle of Samanhout, having retired to the Oases of Ackmin, had recently repaired to Siut, where he was levying contributions in money and horses. Finally, the General learned that Murad Hassan and many other Beys had, on the 25th, appeared before Esneh, when his Aid-de-camp, Clement, had offered them battle, with less than two hundred men, opposed to eight hundred cavalry and a large body of Nubians. This, however, they had declined, being intimidated by that French officer's courageous boldness; who, after a pursuit of an hour, in which many were cut off, forced them to fly with the utmost celerity towards Arminta.

From all Desaix could collect, he concluded that the enemy's rallying point would be Siut, and he therefore proceeded to concentrate his forces. On the 2d March, the General crossed the Nile, and gained Farshout on the ensuing day, when he rapidly proceeded for Siut, to prevent the junction of Murad and Elfi Bey, or instantly give them battle, if that movement had been effected.

On the first appearance of the Mamelukes, General Friant formed his troops, and then manœuvred with so much success, that upwards of a thousand of the foes were either killed or drowned in the stream, and many wounded—such proving the result of the battle of Sou-

hama. On the ensuing day, the Mamelukes were so closely pursued, that Murad-Bey fled to Eleuah, the other Beys proceeding in the direction of Siut, where General Desaix shortly after arrived.

In the mean time, the Yambodian Arab chief, having received his expected reinforcements, learned that Desaix had left his flotilla in the rear. He, in consequence, sent intelligence to Osman-Bey, at Kittah, who soon after arrived with his force at the Nile. An attack upon the flotilla then commenced, when the enemy gained several of the smaller vessels, after which they surrounded the dgerm, named *L'Italie*, and attempted to board her, but they were repulsed by the intrepid Morandi, the commander, who repeatedly fired grape-shot on his assailants. This officer, having many wounded on-board, and seeing crowds of peasants hurrying to attack him from the left bank, thought it preferable to escape if possible, but having few hands to work the vessel, and the wind being unfavourable, she soon ran aground. The enemy then rushed on from every quarter, yet Morandi still refused to surrender, when, hopeless of being able to save the dgerm, he set fire to her and threw himself into the stream, where he was fired at and speedily terminated his gallant career; while all the unfortunate French who escaped the flames were cruelly massacred by the fanatical Arabs of Yambo. This partial advantage elevated the spirits of their chief, who spoke of the destruction of the French as inevitable, saying, they were but a handful of infidels, whom he was going to exterminate.

On the morning of the 8th, General Beliard crossed the Nile, and arrived near ancient Copthos; when he beheld advancing, a large force of the adherents of Hassan-Bey, who had recently traversed the Nile at Etfu. The French immediately ranged themselves for battle, when the enemy impetuously rushed forward, and for a time the result proved doubtful, till, a charge by the dragoons, separating the assailants from their enemies, the route of

the Arabs became complete, and the victory of Copthos added fresh lustre to the inadequate forces of the French.

General Beliard marched to Benout, where, having reconnoitered the enemy, he made the necessary dispositions, and a terrible engagement took place, in which the Yambodian Arabs had twelve hundred killed besides a vast number wounded. The French, after this affair, re-took all their captured vessels, nine pieces of cannon, and two stand of colours. In this tremendous action, Hassan, the Yambodian chief, fell, the loss of the French being thirty killed and as many wounded.

General Desaix had received no intelligence from Beliard since his quitting Kouha, until after the action of Benout, from whence it is probable the Yambodian Arabs had intercepted the despatches. By this intelligence, Desaix learned from Beliard, that his chasseurs had no more than twenty-five cartridges each, that there was not a cannon-ball left, and but twelve rounds of grape. In consequence of this information, Desaix collected ammunition, which he expedited in vessels by the Nile, and proceeded in person to protect the convoy. The enemy was beaten, but not destroyed; and, to effect the latter object, Desaix adopted the system of moving his forces by successive columns, thinking, by this means, to compel the enemy to remain entirely in the desert; or at least oblige him to take long and painful circuits to gain the cultivated country.\*

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\* We could only keep our persevering enemy at a distance from us, continues Mr. Denon, by starving the country that lay between them and ourselves; in consequence of this, we purchased all the cattle, paid for the green crops on the land, and the natives themselves assisted us in rooting up from the ground every species of provision, following our troops with all their domestic animals. By this means we carried off the whole population, so that nothing remained behind us but a barren desert. On my return, I was again forcibly struck by the magnificent appearance of the edifices of Philoë; and I am fully persuaded, it was to produce this effect upon strangers entering their territory, that the Egyptians had collected upon their frontier, such a splendid group of monuments. Philoë



On the 30th of March, Dessaix arrived at Kench, supplied the forces of Beliard with ammunition, and, on the

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was the *entrepôt* of a commerce of barter between Ethiopia and Egypt; and wishing to give the Ethiopians a high idea of their resources and their magnificence, the Egyptians had raised so many sumptuous edifices on the confines and natural frontier of their empire, Syene and the Cataracts. We had another parley with the inhabitants of Philoë, and it was more explicit: they signified to us, that if we were to come there every day for two months successively, they would never let us land. We were obliged to submit this time to their determination; but as it would have given a bad example to the country to allow a handful of peasants to brave us with such insolence close by our establishments, we resolved on the next day to try if we could not make them change their determination. Accordingly, on the morrow, we returned with two hundred men: as soon as they saw us, they put themselves in a posture of defence, and defied us in the manner of savages, with loud cries, which the women repeated. The inhabitants of the neighbouring larger island, immediately collected in arms, which glittered in the sun like sword-players; some of them were quite naked, holding in one hand a sabre, and in the other a buckler, others had rampart-musquets with matchlocks, and long pikes, and in a moment all the east side of the rock was covered with enemies. We still cried out to them that we were not coming to do them any harm, and we only wanted to enter amicably into their island; they answered that they would never let us approach, or furnish us with the means of landing on their shores, and that they were not Mamelukes to fly before us: this braggart speech was closed with loud shouts which resounded on all sides; they wished for the fight; they had defended themselves against the Mamelukes; they had defeated their neighbours; and they now desired to have the glory of resisting us, and even giving us defiance. Immediately the order was issued to our sappers to level the huts on the shore, and to furnish us with wood for a raft; this act was a declaration of war; they fired on us, and, posting themselves in the clefts and caves of their rocks, kept up a brisk and well-directed fire. At this moment one of our field pieces came up, the first sight of which carried their rage to the highest pitch; but from this time the communication between Philoë and the larger island was broken, the people of the latter drove off their herds and cattle, made them cross an arm of the river, and followed them into the desert.

We found the palm-tree wood was too heavy and took water, which compelled us to defer the descent till the next day; and in the mean time our troops remained on shore, and every necessary was collected in order to construct a raft to hold forty men. This business employed us the whole of the following day, and the delay increased the insolence of those wretches, who dared make proposals to the General to pay a hundred piastres to be allowed to come alone and disarm into the island. The scene, however, was soon changed, when on a sudden they saw the larger island covered with our volunteers, whose descent had been protected by grape-shot; terror suc-

**31st, marched against the enemy, who had taken a position at Kouba, while Hassan and Osman-Bey proceeded to**

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ceeded, as usual, to headstrong rashness; men, women, and children, threw themselves into the river to escape by swimming; and, preserving their ferocious character, we saw mothers drowning their children whom they could not carry away with them, and mutilating the girls to save them from the violence of the victors. When I entered on the island the next day, I found a young child seven or eight years old, who had been cut with brutal cruelty, in such a manner, as to prevent her from satisfying the most pressing necessity of nature, and it was only by a counter operation and a bath, that I was able to save the life of this unfortunate little creature, who was very pretty. Others of a more advanced age had not recourse to such severities, and chose for themselves companions from among the victors. In a word, the population of the island was dispersed in a few minutes, having suffered a most serious and irreparable loss.

They had pillaged the boats which the Mamelukes had not been able to convey above the falls, and had formed magazines of this booty, which made them immensely rich, in comparison with their neighbours, and might have secured to them repose and easy circumstances for a number of years; in a few hours they were reduced to beggary, destitute of support, both for the present and the future, and were obliged to go and solicit an asylum from those on whom they had made war a short time before. Our soldiers were employed the rest of the day in evacuating the magazines of the larger island.

The ruins in this island consist of a small sanctuary, faced by a portico of four columns with very elegant capitals, to which had been added at a later period another portico, which doubtless was attached to the circumvallation of the temple. The most ancient part, which was also constructed with more care, was ornamented in a higher degree than the rest; the use made of it in the rites of the catholic religion has impaired the original character, by adding square arched door-ways. In the sanctuary, close to the figures of Isis and Osiris, may still be seen the miraculous impression of the feet of St. Anthony, or St. Paul the hermit.

The ensuing day was the finest to me of my whole travels: I possessed seven or eight monuments in the space of six hundred yards, and could examine them quite at my ease, for I had not by my side any of those impatient companions who always think that they have seen enough, and are constantly pressing you to go to some other object; nor had I in my ears the beating of drums as a signal to muster, or to march, nor Arabs nor peasants to torment me.

As soon as I could set foot in the island, I began first by going over all the inner part, to take a general survey of the various monuments, and to form a kind of topographical chart, containing the island, the course of the river, and the adjacent characteristic scenery. I found a convincing proof that this group of monuments had been constructed at different periods, by several nations, and had belonged to different forms of religious worship; and the union of these various edifices, each of them in itself regular, and crowded together in this narrow spot, formed a diversified group of most

**Kittah.\*** General Beliard was also despatched to the village of Adjozi, on the main route to Kittah. Desaix then

picturesque and magnificent objects. I could here distinguish eight sanctuaries or separate temples, of different dimensions, built at various times, and the limits of each had been respected in the construction of the succeeding ones, which had impaired the regularity of the whole. A part of the additions to the original buildings had been made with a view of connecting the old to the new, avoiding with great dexterity, false angles and general irregularities. This kind of confusion of the architectural lines, which appear like errors in the plan, produce in the elevation a picturesque effect, which geometrical rectitude cannot give; it multiplies objects, forms elegant groups, and offers to the eye more richness than cold symmetry can ever command. I was here able to convince myself of the truth of a remark which I had before made at Thebes and Tentyra, which is, that the mode of building with the ancient Egyptians was, first to erect large masses, on which they afterwards bestowed the labour of ages, in the particulars of the decoration, beginning their work with shaping the architectural lines, proceeding next to the sculpture of the hieroglyphics, and concluding with the stucco and the painting. All these distinct periods of work are very obvious here, where nothing is finished but what belongs to the highest antiquity; whereas a part of the subordinate buildings, which served to connect the various monuments, had been left in many particulars without finish, without sculpture, and even incomplete in the building.

The great and magnificent oblong monument exhibits these different periods of workmanship; it would be difficult to assign any use to this edifice, if the presence of certain monuments representing offerings had not pointed it out to be a temple. It has, however, the form neither of a portico nor of a temple; the columns which compose its outer circumference, and which are engaged in the wall only half their height, support nothing but an entablature and a cornice, without roof or platform: it only opened by two opposite doors, without lintels, which made a straight passage through in a longitudinal direction. As it was doubtless built in the latter period of the Egyptian power, it shows the perfection of art in the highest purity; the capitals are admirable in beauty and execution, the volutes and the foliage are gracefully waved, like the finest Greek architecture, and are symmetrically diversified like those of Apollinopolis, that is to say, differing from the contiguous capitals, and similar to the corresponding ones, all being exactly kept within the same parallel.

\* A post of considerable importance. "In forming an establishment in Egypt it would be necessary to erect a tower, and maintain a garrison at Kittah, for the assurance of a free communication between Cosseir and the Nile, and confine the Arabs, to whom, on account of its permanent and inexhaustible springs of water, which alone would supply an enemy driven in the desert, it is a post which secures the mastery of a large tract of country.

marched to Birambar, where he found an excellent spring of water; by which operations the enemy could not stir

It gave me no little trouble to clear, in my imagination, from the surrounding fragments, these long galleries, encumbered with ruins, to follow the lines of the quays, to raise up the sphinx and the obelisks, and to restore the broken communications between the steps and staircases. Urged on at once by every kind of curiosity, and fearing to impart my erroneous conjectures to those to whom I intended to give an account of my sensations and my researches, I wished to trace on my plan the precise state of the ruins, and the confused heap of fragments, and, from such a plan, to discuss the numerous points which were involved in doubt and uncertainty. What could be the meaning of this vast number of sanctuaries, so contiguous to each other, and yet so distinct? Were they consecrated to different divinities, were they votive chapels, or places devoted each to particular ceremonies of religious worship? The innermost temples contained still more mysterious sanctuaries, such as monolithic temples, or tabernacles of a single stone, containing probably what was most precious to the worshippers; perhaps even the sacred bird, which represented the presiding deity of the temple; the hawk, for example, the emblem of the sun, to whom the building might be consecrated. On the ceilings of the same portico were painted astronomical pictures, the theories of the elements; on the walls, religious ceremonies, images, priests, and gods, by the side of the gates gigantic portraits of certain sovereigns, or emblematical figures of strength or power, threatening a group of suppliant figures, which they grasp with one hand by the hair of the head. Can these represent rebellious subjects, or vanquished enemies? I should incline to the latter opinion, because the figures, which certainly portray Egyptians have never long hair.

Besides this vast enclosure, in which these numerous temples were connected and grouped together by dwellings for the priests, there were two temples standing apart; the larger I have already spoken of, the smaller is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, in perfect preservation, and so diminutive that it almost creates the desire of carrying it away. I found within some remains of a domestic scene, which seemed to be that of Joseph and Mary, and suggested the subject of the Flight into Egypt, in a style of the utmost truth and interest. If ever we should be disposed to transport a temple from Africa to Europe, this which I am speaking of should be selected for the purpose; for besides the practicability of such an operation afforded by its small dimensions, it would give a palpable proof of the noble simplicity of the Egyptian architecture, and would show in a striking manner, that it is character, and not extent alone, which gives dignity to an edifice.

Independent of the Egyptian monuments, Greek and Roman ruins are found at the south east of the island, which appear to me to be the remains of a small port, and a custom-house, of which the wall of the façade is decorated with pilasters and arcades of the doric order: some standing fragments of columns show an open gallery, or a kind of por-

from the desert, without pursuing a very long and painful march of four days. The Beys having gained a know-

tico in front; between these ruins and the Egyptian monuments, the sur-base of a catholic church may be remarked, which is built of antique fragments, mixed with crosses and Greek ornaments of later ages; for in these countries catholicism has been too poor to remove entirely her own worship from the pomp of idolatrous temples. After having established her saints in the face of the Egyptian deities, she has often painted a St. John or St. Paul, by the side of the goddess Isis, and disguised Osiris into St. Athanasius; or else, quitting the heathen temples altogether, she has dilapidated them, and taken the ready-made materials to construct her own edifices of religious worship.

What a profusion of objects of curiosity!—but the time was gliding on so fast, that I wished to stay the course of the sun. Having employed many hours in observation, I began to make drawings and measurements; but I saw that our people had finished clearing the enemy's magazines, and I could not hope to return to Philoë, for I had not here such kind friends as at Elephantina, and the troops had already been too much fatigued with the siege of this little island. I at last quitted the spot, with my eyes wearied out by so many objects, and my mind filled with the various recollections attached to it: I left Philoë with my treasures, conducting with me my little girl, whom I entrusted to the sheik of Elephantina, in order to be restored to her parents.

The plan was formed of fortifying Syene; the engineer, Garbé, had chosen an eminence on the south of the city on which to construct a fort, that should command all the approaches, and overlook the adjacent country. There were neither shovels, pickaxes, hammers, nor trowels, but all these articles were forged; bricks could not be made for want of wood, but they were collected out of all the old Arab buildings in the place. Our brave twenty-first regiment, like the Roman cohorts who had inhabited the same place, knew no difficulties, or surmounted them all. Every individual was required to make two journeys daily to the spot, in order to transport materials: many of the men could with difficulty drag their legs to the place, but no one failed in complying with the requisition; the bastions were traced out, and the labour was conducted with so much speed, that in a few days the fortress began to appear above the foundations; and at the same time we bastioned and embattled an old Roman building, having been a bath, in very good preservation, and which, from its situation, had the double advantage of protecting and commanding the river.

The termination of the march of the French through Egypt was inscribed on a granite rock beyond the cataracts. I took advantage of a reconnoitring party being pushed to the desert on the left bank, to go and visit the quarries of which Pocock speaks, and an ancient monastery of Cenobites. After marching an hour, we discovered this monument in a small valley, surrounded with shattered rocks, and with sands produced by their decomposition: The detachment, pursuing its destination, left me alone in this spot.

ledge of these movements, left Kittah, and, at midnight, of the first of April, they took a post in the desert, nearly opposite Desaix; who ascertained this circumstance from one of their deserters, that man further stating, that their intention was to rally and join the Yambodian Arabs.

General Desaix in consequence despatched intelligence to Beliard, who sent a force to observe the Mamelukes, and while he traversed the desert, Desaix, on the

The troops were hardly gone when I was alarmed at my solitary situation. I was lost among long corridors, and the melancholy vaults echoed with the sound of my feet, the only noise with which this profound silence had been disturbed, perhaps, for ages. The cells of these monks resembled the cages of animals in a menagerie; they were recesses seven feet square, and only enlightened by a dismal window, six feet from the ground: this refinement of austerity, however, only concealed from the eye of the recluse the view of the vast expanse of heaven, an equally boundless horizon of sand, and a bright uninterrupted light, as melancholy as night, more wasting to the corporeal frame, and perhaps more impressive of the gloomy picture of their solitude. In this dungeon a bed of bricks, and a recess, serving as a closet, were all the conveniences which had been added to this space between four walls; and a tower placed by the side of the gate, shows also that even the austere repast of these Cenobites was taken in solitude. Nothing indicated the remains of the habitation of man, but some short sentences written on the walls; and I could trace in these inscriptions their last sentiments, and the only memorial which they would leave to those who were to succeed them—a vain attempt, which time, that destroys every thing, has entirely frustrated. I presented them to my imagination as dying and still striving, with fluttering speech, to utter a few words. Oppressed with this succession of gloomy objects, I hastened to the court, a space enclosed with lofty embattled walls, covert ways, and embrasures for cannon: every thing announced that the storms of war had succeeded the horrors of silence in this fatal place; that this edifice, torn from the Cenobites, who had raised it with so much zeal and perseverance, had at different periods served as a retreat to the vanquished, or as an advanced post to a victorious army.

The differences of style in its construction may serve as a history of this monument. Being begun in the first ages of catholicism, all that was then raised still bears the mark of greatness and magnificence: what war afterwards added has been done hastily, and is still more in ruins than the original construction. In the court a small church, built of unbaked bricks, shows further, that a smaller number of recluses had returned, after a considerable time, to resume possession of these walls; and finally, a more recent destruction seems to indicate, that it is only a few ages since this spot has been entirely given up to the silence and desolation that prevails around the gloomy edifice.

second of April, proceeded to Keneh, One of Beliard's hussars in front soon announced the appearance of a corps of the enemy, when General Rabasse advancing too precipitately for the purpose of reconnoitring, was attacked, and having his horse killed under him, only escaped by displaying feats of the most dauntless courage. Desaix now arrived on the scene of action, when a most obstinate battle took place, the French having neither infantry nor artillery, their progress through the sand being so slow and painful. In this encounter, supported only by cavalry, the French lost Duplessis and Bouvaquier, two brave and experienced officers, together with many men killed and wounded.

At the termination of this action the Mamelukes fled to Kittah, Beliard having received orders to pursue them closely. After these movements, the Yambodian Arabs, perceiving their situation to be very critical, determined not to await the coming up of General Davoust, but cross the Nile at Bardis.

On the fifth, in the afternoon, Morand gained Bardis, where the Arabs, Mamelukes, and peasants advanced shouting to the village, but after a few exchanges of musquetry they fell back. The French were soon after again attacked; but, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, a well directed and steady fire a second time forced them to fall back, and, favoured by the approach of night, they made good their retreat; while Morand marched to Girgeh. On the following day the Arabs also advanced to that town, and while engaged in plundering the market-place, the French attacked them with such vigour that the greater part were cut to pieces. In the actions of Bardis and Girgeh, the Yambodian Arabs had two hundred killed, the loss of the French being only seven men.

On the ninth of April, General Lasalle attacked the enemy, and, on the ensuing day, arrived at Gehemi, where the Arabs stationed in an enclosure, received him with a

volley of musquetry and the battle commenced. The enclosure, after some hours desperate fighting, was at length forced, when the Arabs lost three hundred killed and many wounded.

On the second of April, after the conflict at Biramba, Desaix had marched to Keneh, in order to arrange for an expedition against Cosseir; when several merchants from Jedda solicited his friendship and were favourably received. Shortly after, the General made a treaty with the cheiks of Cosseir, and also with a Yambodian cheik, who acted as consul for that province. He then ordered Beliard to accelerate the preparations, erect a fort at Keneh, and appointed him governor of the province of Thebes. After these dispositions had been taken, Desaix marched to Girgeh, of which place he named Morand commander, and then departed for Siut, which he gained on the 15th of May.

In the mean time Davoust drove the Yambodian Arabs before him, but, after their signal defeat by Lasalle, their power seemed entirely broken, and the General therefore returned to Siut. Intelligence however soon arrived, that the Arabs had rallied in force at Beneadi, the natives of which place were esteemed the bravest men in Egypt. Davoust instantly marched against that town, when Murad-Bey, whose dreary prospects had inclined him to quit the Oases, fled again to his retreat in the desert, the Arabs and peasants following, while the French force directed its operations solely against the town, which was invested and taken after an obstinate battle, nearly two thousand of the enemy being killed, while the town was burned to the ground. In this place large treasures were found, among which several chests of specie enriched the victors.

About the ninth of May, Eppler received intelligence that the Mamelukes had taken Syene, upon which, on the sixteenth of the same month, Captain Renaud, having been despatched thither, ascertained, prior to his arrival



at the town, that it was the enemy's intention to attack him. Scarce had Renaud made his dispositions, when the foe advanced at full speed, whose attack was received with coolness and intrepidity: Hassan-Bey, on this occasion was severely hurt by a bayonet, and Osmond received two musket-shot wounds. This action afforded a striking example of desperation on one side, and deliberate courage on the other; and the Mamelukes, in consequence of this defeat, were obliged to retire above the cataracts, where accumulated evils surrounded them.

The first care of Desaix, on his arrival at Siut, was to provide for the expedition across the desert to Cosseir; being anxious to hasten the armament against Murad-Bey,\* at Elwah, which he was desirous should proceed at

\* A few traits of the character of this extraordinary man, and a brief notice of his fate, will not, we think, be uninteresting to the reader. "Collected under misfortune, this Egyptian Fabius, who knew how to join patient courage with the resources of political activity, had calculated his strength, he had estimated the use he could make of it, in the midst of the events of a disastrous war; though he had to struggle at once with a foreign enemy, and with all the rivalries of jealous compeers, he maintained himself immoveably, the chief of those whose privations, flight, and reverses he shared; he continued their only rallying point, he was master of their fate; he regulated their movements, and was their commander; not less now than in the day of his prosperity. \* \* \* \* Murad showed himself worthy of being the adversary of Desaix, and that it is become doubtful, which is most to be admired, the ingenious and repeated attacks of the one, or the calm and circumspect resistance of the other."

"Murad-Bey had fought for his independence, as long as there was any prospect of success, but deserted by the Turks, and pressed by General Desaix, he had no other alternative than to be driven from the whole of his government, or compromise for a part; and he judiciously chose the moment to treat, when his means still made his alliance desirable to the French, but he was never in heart reconciled to them; his religion and pride forbad their friendship, independent of other motives.

"\* \* \* \* he had been seized with the plague, three days before his decease, whilst gradually descending the Nile, to join the English, (then in Egypt,) and expired on the 22d of April, 1801. In a letter to Sir W. S. Smith, written not long previously, he said, 'How can I be attached to the French? Have they not driven me from my sovereignty, my honours, and revenue? But it is on the English faith I can alone depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence;' and, when alluding to the hostility of that people against him, and the un-

the same time with that of Cosseir, but the appearance of an English force off the latter place, turned all his attention to it. About this time, General Beliard, who was to have commanded the expedition, being violently affected with a disorder in his eyes, Desaix sent his Adjutant-general, Douzelot, to replace him, or to proceed as second in command. However, both officers set out from Kench on the 26th of May, with five hundred men of the twenty-first. On the 29th, General Beliard took possession of Cosseir, and of its fort, which, with some repairs and additional works, might be rendered of considerable importance.

Having had so much to state on the subject of the youthful General Desaix, the friend of Bonaparte and the companion of Denon, we cannot better close the present chapter, than by annexing Napoleon's opinion of the relative merits of that experienced, brave, and virtuous General, and the undaunted Kleber, concerning whom he spoke as follows: "Of all the Generals I ever had under my command, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; and in particular Desaix, as Kleber was only enamoured of glory, inasmuch as he thereby acquired riches and pleasures; whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised every other consideration. *Desaix was altogether wrapped up in war and glory; to him riches and pleasures were void of value, nor did he ever give them a moment's consideration.* He was," continued the Emperor, "a little black looking man, about an inch shorter than myself, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising alike comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I presented him with a complete field equipage more than once, but he uniformly lost it.

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natural inveteracy of those professing the same faith, he thus beautifully expressed himself: 'Melancholy it is to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing is tipped with the eagle's feather!'"  
—Sir R. T. Wilson, K.M.T.

*Enveloped in a cloak, Desaix would throw himself under a gun, and sleep as contentedly as if reposing in a palace : luxury had for him no charms. Frank and honest in all his proceedings, he was denominated by the Arabs, 'THE JUST SULTAN.'* Nature had intended him to figure as a consummate General : Kleber and Desaix were irreparable losses to France ; had the former lived, the English army in Egypt must have perished. If the imbecile Menou had attacked them on their landing, with twenty thousand men, as he might have done, instead of sending the division of Lanusse ; the British army would only proved a meal for him."

CHAP. V.

*NAPOLEON'S Plan of Operations after arriving at Cairo—He quits that City for the Pyramids of Gizah, where he receives Information of the Fleet being anchored off Aboukir—BONAPARTE'S various Dispositions previous to that celebrated Conflict—Situation of the Forces of Mustapha Pacha and the Turkish Fleet—Denon's Account resumed—Voyage up the River beyond Syene—Monuments at Ombos—Famous Quarries of Gebel Silsilis, and sculptured Tombs in their Vicinity—Crocodiles—Proceedings of the Mamelukes—Arrival at Hermontis—Visit to the Necropolis of Thebes—Arrival at Kous—Capture of the French Flotilla by the Meccans—Battle of Benhute—Storming the Fortress, and critical Situation of the French Army—The Army of BONAPARTE and Mustapha Pacha in Presence of each other—Ample Detail of the Battle and Victory of Aboukir, with the Storming and Surrender of the Fort.*

SUCH was the situation of Upper Egypt and of the army of General Desaix, when Bonaparte had arrived at Cairo, from his expedition to Syria, whose first labour was to organize the army, and fill up the corps, that it might speedily be in a state to fight new battles. He had frustrated but one part of the general plan of attack, combined between the Porte and England, and, consequently, expected he should soon have to oppose the other dangers he had foreseen. In fact, Napoleon was soon informed by General Desaix, that the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt had divided their forces; a party having proceeded to the Oasis of Sebabiari, with the design of joining Ibrahim-Bey, who had returned to Gaza, while

the other, with Murad-Bey, had descended by Fayum, to gain the Oasis of the lakes of Natron, in order to form a junction with a body of Arabs assembled in that quarter, which General Destaing had received orders to disperse with the flying column under his command. This march of Murad-Bey, combined with the movements of the Arabs, indicated a design of protecting a descent, either at Aboukir or at the tower of the Arabs.

On the 10th of July, General Legrange set out from Cairo with a flying column; at Sababiar he surprised the Mamelukes in their camp; who had only time to escape into the desert, leaving all their baggage, and seven hundred camels. Osman-Bey, several kiachefs, and a number of Mamelukes were killed, and fifty horses fell into the hands of the brave men whom General Legrange commanded. General Murat received orders to proceed at the head of a flying column, to the lakes of Natron, to co-operate with General Destaing, disperse the Arabs, and cut off the communication between them and Murad-Bey. This Officer arrived at the lakes, after making prisoners in his way, a kiachef and thirty Mamelukes, who were flying from General Destaing. Murad-Bey learning, near the lakes of Natron, the proximity of the French, immediately made a retrograde movement, and halted on the 13th July, near the pyramids of Gizah, on the verge of the desert.

Bonaparte, being informed of these movements, quitted Cairo, on the 14th, with the cavalry and infantry guides, the grenadiers of the eighteenth and thirty-second, the eclaireurs, and two pieces of cannon, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered General Murat to join him. Arrived at the pyramids, his advanced guard pursued the Arabs that were in the rear of Murad-Bey, who, that morning, began to ascend towards Fayum; a few men were killed in this pursuit, and several camels taken. General Murat, who had joined the General-in-Chief, pursued Murad Bey, on his route, for

the space of five leagues. Bonaparte, who had designed to halt two or three days at the pyramids of Gizah, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet of one hundred sail had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th July, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He instantly departed for Gizah, where he passed the night in making his dispositions; he ordered General Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh with his cavalry, the grenadiers of the sixty-ninth, those of the eighteenth and thirty-second, the *eclaireurs*, and a battalion which was with him of the thirteenth. A part of the division of General Lannes was ordered to cross the Nile, in the night, and to repair to Rahmanieh; as were also a part of General Rampon's division. The artillery destined for the march was also put in motion, and, during the night, all the necessary orders and instructions were forwarded to the different provinces.

Bonaparte recommended Desaix to order General Friant to fall into the route of Murad-Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to supply the fortress of Keneh, in Upper Egypt, and that of Cosseir upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and provisions; to leave an hundred men in each place, to observe Cairo closely during the expedition against the Turks at Aboukir, to concert measures with General Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the security of the French interests in that quarter; and, finally, to send a moiety of his cavalry to the main body of the army. He reinstructed General Dugua to keep, as far as was practicable, the flying columns in the districts lying round Cairo, to confer occasionally with Generals Desaix and Regnier; to keep the forts and citadel of Cairo well supplied, and to retire thither in case of extremity. He sent orders to General Regnier to superintend the provisioning the forts of El-Arish, Cathieh, Salehieh, and Belbeis; to oppose as much as possible, with the eighty-fifth, and the corps of cavalry under his command, all

movements, whether of the Fellahs, the revolted Arabs, the adherents of Ibrahim-Bey, or of the troops of Dgezzar ; and, finally, in case of the approach of a very superior force, to order the garrisons to defend their respective fortresses to the last, and to retire himself with his army to Cairo.

General Kleber was directed to advance towards Rosetta ; previously leaving a sufficient number of troops for the security of Damietta, and the province. General Menou, who had proceeded with a flying column, to the lakes of Natron, was ordered to place two hundred Greeks, with a piece of cannon, as garrisons in the convents, which are built in such a manner as to afford places of defence ; the design of this measure was to prevent Murad-Bey, or the Arabs, from occupying that Oasis ; the General was then to join the force at Rahmanieh with the rest of his column. The General-in-Chief, with the head quarters, left Gizah on the 16th of July, lay that night at Ouardan ; the 17th at Teraneh ; the 18th at Shabur, and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh, where the army collected on the 20th and 21st. Generals Launes, Robin, and Fugieres, who were employed in the districts of Menuf and Garbieh, in enforcing the payment of the Miri, also joined the army on those days.

Bonaparte received intelligence that the Turkish ships, which had anchored in the road of Aboukir, on the 12th July, had landed near the fort about three thousand men with artillery, and, on the 15th, attacked the advanced redoubt, which was taken by storm ; that the garrison in the fort of Aboukir, the commandant of which had been killed, had, by one of those acts of cowardice which merit exemplary punishment, surrendered on the same day. The fort was defended by a fosse twenty feet wide, with a counterscarp cut in the rock, the lining of the bastions was in good condition, and the place capable of holding out until relief arrived. At Rosetta, however,

the Adjutant-General Julien behaved with wisdom and bravery; he secured his provisions, ammunition, and all the sick, within the castle; but he remained in the town with about two hundred men, whom he had under his command; his vigilant and spirited conduct overawed the agents of the enemy, and maintained public confidence and tranquillity in the province. General Marmont (who commanded at Alexandria,) despatched intelligence to the General-in-Chief, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that they were employed in landing their artillery; that he had destroyed the pontoons which the French had constructed over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir; that he was informed by his agents, the enemy designed to besiege Alexandria, and that the Turks were about fifteen thousand strong.

In consequence of the information received, Bonaparte despatched General Menou to Rosetta, and a reinforcement of troops, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and defend the entrance to the Nile. It was expected that the enemy's forces, elated by the capture of Aboukir, would become enterprising, and proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta; but the General-in-Chief learned that, on the contrary, they were establishing a post, intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; forming magazines in the fort, organizing the Arabs, and that they only waited for the co-operation of Murad-Bey and his Mamelukes, in order to advance. It was obvious that the enemy, in his then situation, would daily increase in strength: it was therefore important to take a position, whence he might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta or invested Alexandria; and such a position, that, if the enemy remained at Aboukir, he might be attacked, deprived of his artillery, driven into the sea, or bombarded in, and compelled to surrender the fortress.



Bonaparte immediately put the army in motion, and repaired himself to Alexandria, which place he quitted on the evening of the 24th of July, to take up a position at the wells of Birkit, situated at the point of one of the angles of the lake Madie, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etoko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria. This point became the rendezvous of the army.

The 25th July, at day-break, the forces began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by General Murat, who had under his orders four hundred cavalry, together with General Destaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The division of General Lannes, formed the right wing, and that of General Lanusse the left. The division of General Kleber, expected to arrive in the course of the day, was to form the reserve. The artillery, escorted by a squadron of horse, followed the main body of the army. The General of Brigade Davoust, with two squadrons of horse, and a hundred dromedaries, was directed to take a position between Alexandria and the army, as well as to oppose the Arabs and Murad-Bey, whose arrival was hourly expected, to secure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were despatched to General Menou, who had advanced to Rosetta, to proceed at day-break and take a position, at the extremity of the neck of land at the entrance of lake Madie, on the side of Aboukir, in order to cannonade, and keep at a distance any vessels of the enemy that might be on the lake, and attempt to harass the army on that side.

Mustapha Pacha had drawn up his first line, half a league in front of Aboukir; about one thousand men occupied an intrenched sand-hill on his right, close to the sea; this was supported by a village, at the distance of three hundred toises, occupied by twelve hundred men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, which consisted of about two thousand men, with six pieces of

cannon, was upon a detached sand-hill, about six hundred toises in front of the first line; this position, but ill fortified, was chosen to protect the wells that are most abundant near Aboukir. Some gun-boats appeared to be stationed, with a view to protect the space between this position and the second line. The enemy's second position was about three hundred toises in rear of the village; his centre in, and near the redoubt, which he had taken at the first landing: the right of this position was behind an intrenchment extending from the redoubt to the sea, for the space of an hundred and fifty toises; his left, stretching from thence towards the shore on the other side, occupied some low sand-hills, on the verge of the sea, where it was covered by the fire, both of the redoubt and of the gun-boats; in the second position were nearly seven thousand men, with twelve pieces of cannon. An hundred and fifty toises to the rear of the redoubt, is situated the village of Aboukir, and adjoining the fort, both being occupied by about fifteen hundred men. Eighty horsemen formed the suite of the Pacha, who had the chief command, while the Turkish squadron was at anchor in the road at the distance of half a league.\*

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\* The detachment, says M. Denon, which had left me at Philœ now returned, in order to serve me as an escort, when I found myself as if rising from the tomb. With regard to the quarries which I found in the neighbourhood, they are not those out of which the obelisks were cut, such being always of granite, and the granite rocks are at a distance from this spot. The rocks here are free-stone, and the only objects of curiosity are the fragments of the inclined roads, over which the masses of stone were rolled, and thus conducted to the river, to be there embarked for the different edifices where they were to be employed.

We learned that the Mamelukes, who had fled before us at Damiet, had taken the desert on the right bank of the river, and were proceeding down the stream to rejoin Assan-Bey; that Murad, after violent debates, had collected all the provisions which the upper country could furnish, and was returning by the left side through the desert, leaving behind him only the aged Solymán, who kept possession of Bribe with eighty Mamelukes. Having nothing more to do

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within sight of the enemy, and the tirailleurs commenced

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at Syene, we left it the 25th of February. I could have willingly remained there a fortnight longer, had it not been for the burning winds of the spring, and that my health had already sustained a painful attack; three days of east wind in January rendered the atmosphere oppressively hot, as it is with us in the dog-days; to which succeeded so cold a north wind, that in four hours I was attacked by a fever. In hopes of some rest, I went on board a bark; they were all to sail as high up as the troops, who were resuming the journey which I had just taken: and I hoped in travelling by the river to see Ombos, and the quarries of Gebel Silsilis, which I had passed at some distance to my left, during my previous excursion up the stream.

I was hardly embarked, when I experienced all the inconveniences of this mode of conveyance. The contrary wind, the stupidity of the natives, who could not be made to work the vessels, and the fruitless cries of our provençals; every thing conspired to torment us. We were a long while working up to Com-Ombos, and just then the wind became favourable for passing it; our flotilla was in too much haste for me to venture a proposal for stopping there a single hour, so that I had only time to give it a glance when sailing by, and to observe the general site, and the fine position of the monuments. Ancient Ombos, where the crocodile was revered, is still called Com-Ombos (the mountain Ombos,) and is situated on an eminence which commands the country, and projects out to the very margin of the river. If all the fragments which are here seen belonged to a single structure, it must have been immense. In the centre is a grand portico of columns with wide capitals, in very large proportions; on the south, one gate is preserved entire; it joined a wall of circumvallation, which is destroyed: at the west, and on the bank of the Nile, an enormous mole was raised, which is at present in ruins at its surmit; the inundations of the river have laid bare its foundations for sixty feet in depth; they were constructed with the same solidity and magnificence as the ornamental part. Towards the north, in a similar direction, the remains of a temple or gallery may be seen, in smaller proportions, with columns and capitals. In the open space between these two last edifices, was a parapet made of hewn stone, which opened to the view the grand temple in the middle, and must have produced a theatrical and magnificent effect. It is very well demonstrated that the Egyptians were more attached to magnitude, even in producing picturesque beauties, than to regular symmetry; they supplied the want of this latter by noble piles of buildings, by richness, by beautiful parts, and by impressive effect. Were they wrong in this idea? The question is of considerable magnitude. However this may be, and whatever composed the remainder of the ancient town of Ombos, it could not but offer a most majestic view when entire; since, dilapidated as it is, and encumbered with vile huts, the forms of beauty which it displays produce a most magic picture of splendid ruin to the beholder.

a discharge of musketry. Bonaparte ordered the columns to halt, and made his dispositions for the attack.

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The next day I was more fortunate; we anchored opposite the large quarries of freestone cut in the mountains, which form the banks of the Nile here on either side. This spot is called Gebel Silsilis, and is situated between Etfu and Ombos. The stone of these quarries being of an equal grain and uniform texture throughout, blocks may be cut out of them as large as may be desired, and it is doubtless to the beauty and durability of this material, that we owe the vast size and fine preservation of the monuments which constitute our admiration at the present time, so many centuries after the date of their construction. From the immense excavations, and the quantity of fragments which may still be seen in these quarries, we may suppose that they were worked for some thousands of years; and they alone might have supplied the materials employed for the greater part of the monuments of Egypt. The distance would, in fact, prove no obstacle to the working of these quarries, since the Nile, during its inundation, would constantly rise so as to float the boats which were loaded during the dry season, and carry them to the places of their destination.

The mania for erecting monuments among the Egyptians, shows itself on every side in these quarries; which, after having furnished materials for the erection of temples, were themselves consecrated by monuments, and decorated with religious edifices. On the shore of the Nile may be seen porticoes with columns, entablatures, and cornices, covered with hieroglyphics, all cut out of the solid rock; as well as a large number of tombs, also hollowed out of the mountain. These monuments are still very curious, though they are disfigured by trenches and rubbish.

In several tombs small private chambers are found, many of which contain large sealed figures; these chambers are adorned with hieroglyphics traced on the rock, and terminated with coloured stucco, representing constantly offerings of bread, fruits, liquors, fowls, &c. The ceilings, also of stucco, are ornamented with painted scrolls in an exquisite taste; the floor is inlaid with a number of tombs of the same dimensions and form as are delineated upon the cases of mummies, and equal in number to the sculptured figures; those that represent men have small square beards, with a head-dress hanging behind over the shoulders; the women have the same costume, but falling down in front over their naked necks. These latter are commonly represented with one arm passing within the arm of the figure beside them, and the other holding a lotus flower, a plant of Acheron the emblem of death. The tombs that contain but a single figure are probably those of men who died in celibacy; where three are contained, they represent perhaps a husband who had two wives, either at one time or successively. The access to these tombs being always made by violence, I could not observe how they were intended to open and shut; all I could distinguish in the fragments that remained was, the doors being decorated with jambs covered with

**The General of brigade Destaing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the**

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hieroglyphics, and surmounted by a coping, which forms a cornice, and an entablature whereon a winged globe is always sculptured.

On the side of these doors I have often met with the figure of a woman in the attitude of grief; perhaps a widow lamenting the loss of her husband.

The choice of this situation for the habitations of the dead shows, that at all times in Egypt, the silence of the desert has been the asylum of death, since even now the Egyptians carry their defunct into the desert three leagues from their habitations, that the dryness of the sands may preserve them from corruption; and they go thither every week to pray over those tombs.

On approaching Esneh we again found crocodiles; they are not to be seen at Syene, but re-appear above the cataracts; they seem to prefer certain reaches of the river, particularly from Tentyra to Omboes; they abound most of all near Hermontis. We here saw three of them; one, much larger than the rest, was nearly twenty-five feet long; they were asleep, so that we could approach them within twenty paces, and had time to distinguish all the peculiarities which give them such a hideous aspect; they resembled dismounted cannon. I fired on one with a heavy muskuet, the ball struck him, and rebounded from his scales; he made a leap of ten feet, and dived into the river.

Four leagues short of Esneh, I saw a quay faced with stone, on the edge of the river, and two hundred yards further was a pyramidal gate, much in ruins, together with six columns of the portico and gallery of a temple, which must have been dedicated to Chnubis. We had a fair wind, and half a league lower we saw four other crocodiles.

At day-break we arrived at Esneh. On landing I heard the drums beat to muster the forces. I had already had enough of travelling by water, so that in ten minutes after setting foot on shore I was on horseback, turning my back on Appollinopolis and Latopolis, many particulars of which I still had to examine. But such was the chance of war; and I ought to think myself very happy that the obstinacy of Murad caused me to visit Syene. He appeared to have had no other plan than that of constant perseverance, following every day the impulse of the moment, and the event of circumstances.

The coalition of the beys was already broken; Solymán remained at Deir; Assan, with forty Mamelukes, had separated from Murad as high as Esneh, and gone up to Etfu; all the shieks on the left side must have parted from him lower down; while Murad himself, left alone with his three hundred Mamelukes, had been about to descend below Siut, but being met at Suhama, below Girgeh, by General Friand, who had broken the assembly of troops, which he was again collecting, he took the road to Eluah, one of the Oases, where he remained, waiting to see what might turn out in his favour. There had been two actions between the Mecca soldiers and General

enemy, which was occupied by about a thousand men ; at the same time a picket of cavalry was sent to out off the

Friend on the left bank, between Thebes and Kous ; six hundred of these adventurers had perished in the two encounters ; but it was said that the sheref of Mecca himself was advancing with six thousand troops to join the eight or nine hundred that remained out of the first crusade.

We arrived at Hermontis on the morning of the 4th of March where we halted, in order to procure intelligence of the Mamelukes, the Meccans, and the several detachments of our army, which was at this moment distributed over a considerable extent of country.

I had now a better opportunity of observing the site of the ancient town, which had had a wall of circumvallation, and several temples. But for ever temples ! not a single public edifice, not a single house, nor even royal palace, which had been able to resist the ravages of time ! What then were the people, and who the sovereigns ! It should seem that the former were composed of slaves, the latter pious leaders, and the priests humble and hypocritical despots, concealing their tyranny from the people by the name of a vain monarch, and possessing all the science that was then known, which they wrapped up in emblem and mystery, to raise a barrier between them and the people. The king was served by priests, counselled by priests, fed by them, instructed by them ; every morning, after having dressed him up, they read to him the duties of a sovereign towards his religion ; they then led him to the temple ; and the rest of the day, like the doge of Venice, he was never without six counsellors who still were priests. With such precautions, they perhaps might be tolerably secure of never having a very bad king ; but what was the gain for the people, if the priests supplied his place ? The only two sovereigns who, according to history, dared to shake off the yoke, were Cheops and Cephrenes, who shut up the temples for twenty years : but these were regarded as impious and rebellious princes, and were recorded as such in the annals which the priests composed and handed down to posterity.

The palace with a hundred chambers, the only one mentioned in the history of Egypt, was the work of a new form of government, in which the priests no longer possessed the same influence. The famous canals, of which history speaks so pompously, have preserved no magnificence, have neither causeways nor sluices, and the only facings and quays that I have met with on the banks of the Nile are very trifling works, compared to those colossal and immortal temples, whose precincts occupied a very large proportion of the space included within the walls that surrounded the towns. The jesuits of Paraguay, perhaps, might have let us into the secret of theocratic dominion ; and in this case I should see in the rich country of Egypt nothing but a gloomy and mysterious government, weak kings, and a sad unhappy people.

On the 8th we set out on our march to meet Osman-Bey, who, we were informed, was to pass the Nile at Kench. I had again the

retreat of this body to the village. The division of General Lannes was to advance against the detached

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mortification of crossing the ground occupied by ancient Thebes, with still less opportunity of examining it than at first ; without measuring a single column, without approaching a monument, we followed the course of the Nile, avoiding both the temples of Medinet-Abu, the Memnonium, the temples of Kurnu, which I passed on my left, and those of Luxor and Karnak on my right—still temples—nothing but temples ! and not a vestige of the hundred gates so celebrated in history ; no walls, quays, bridges, baths, or theatres ; not a single edifice of public utility or convenience ; notwithstanding all the pains which I took in the research, I could find nothing but temples, walls covered with obscure emblems, and hieroglyphics, which attested the ascendancy of the priesthood, who still seemed to reign over these mighty ruins, and whose empire constantly haunted my imagination.

The space occupied by this incomprehensible town, now infolds four villages and as many hamlets, which appear thinly scattered over vast fields : as a few wild shoots recal to the passenger the existence of some stately tree, celebrated by the majesty of its shade, or the abundance of its fruit. Quitting with regret this famous district, we halted in the village on the west side, the quarter of the ancient Necropolis, where I again found the inhabitants of Kurnu disputing our entrance into the tombs, which they had taken up as their asylum. We must have killed them before they could have been persuaded that we did not mean them any harm, and we had not time to enter into dispute ; we therefore contented ourselves with blockading the openings, whilst we took a short repast on the spot.

Towards the evening one of our spies gave us notice, that the soldiers from Mecca, united to Osman-Bey, were intrenched at Benhute, three leagues before Keneh, where they were waiting for us : he told us further, that they had artillery, and were determined on hostilities, and running the chance of a battle ; adding, that they had stopped several of our barks on the Nile ; and after an obstinate combat, in which many of the peasants and Meccans had been killed, the French had been overpowered by numbers, and all massacred. We slept on the banks of the river, which was to be passed before we could come up with the enemy ; and waited for our barks. We soon were convinced, beyond a doubt, of being seen by the enemy from the opposite shore, as we perceived armed horsemen constantly passing and repassing. We then marched back to meet our convoy, which we soon joined ; when all the rest of the day was employed in passing the river, which we made good at El Kamoutch. On the 10th we resumed our march, and, on our arrival at Kous, the report which we had heard in the evening was confirmed.

Kous, which stands at the entrance of the opening of the desert leading to Berepice and Cosseir, is still beautiful on the south side. Its immense plantations of melons, and numerous and abundant gardens, must make it appear delicious to the inhabitants of the shores

sand-hill, on the left of the enemy's first line, where two thousand men and six pieces of cannon were stationed:

of the Red Sea, and to the thirsty travellers who have just crossed the desert. It has succeeded to the commerce and catholic establishment of Cophthos; for the Copts are still its most numerous inhabitants. Their zeal induced them to give us all the intelligence they had been able to collect, and they accompanied us in person, and followed our troops with their good wishes to the very confines of their territory. I was struck with the sincere interest which the shiek expressed for our fate, who, believing that we were marching on to inevitable death, gave us the most circumstantial advice, without concealing any of the dangers to which we were exposed, advising us with great judgement on every particular which could render the encounter less fatal, and following us as far he could, when he departed with tears in his eyes. Desaix had before been a week at Kous, and seen much of the shiek; and the tender interest which the latter showed for us, was the natural result of the favourable opinion he must have formed of the frank and communicative disposition of our leader, and of that mild and unvarying equity which afterwards acquired for him the title of *the Just*; the most honourable appellation which could be obtained by a conqueror and a stranger, arrived in an enemy's country for the purpose of making war.

We took little heed of the battle in which it was said our boats had been engaged, and were far from having a just idea of the importance of the intelligence given us. We were now but four leagues off the enemy; an hour after our march through Kous we observed at the foot of the desert, the ruins of Cophthos, famous in the fourth century for its commerce with the east: nothing of its ancient splendour can now be distinguished! but the extent of ruins, with which it is surrounded, points out the site of the ancient city. All that remains of the old town is as dry and uninhabited as the desert, on the borders of which it is situated.

We were scarcely past Cophthos, when we learned that the enemies had begun their march; we halted, and, after a slight repast, resumed our course to meet them. We soon perceived their standards, which were distributed over more than a league of ground; and continued to advance in the order we had first taken, that is to say, a square battalion, flanked with a single three-pounder field-piece, and fifteen cavalry: we looked like a single point coming across a line. Soon the shouts of the enemy were heard, and we came to action at a village, which the extremity of their line had just occupied: we detached our marksmen, who immediately were closely engaged with them; but, notwithstanding several shots from our field-piece, they did not give way, for their rash valour supplied the want of sufficient arms. After this advanced body had been cut to pieces, rather than routed, we found greater resistance in the villages, where the enemy were more on an equality with us, by having some fire-arms, and the protection of walls; we however repulsed them as far back as another village a quarter of a league farther off. At this moment the



two squadrons of horse were despatched to observe the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its

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Mamelukes began to parade before us, and to make a feint of charging our right, to divert us from pursuing the advantage that we had just gained over their ally : however, we marched straight up to them, without discontinuing the engagement with the Meccans : when some discharges of cannon, delivered us from the Mamelukes, who were not so much in earnest as the Meccans, and only wished to try if the number and valour of their allies would compel us to detach against them so many of our men as would weaken our grand square, and allow them to charge us with advantage. Having dislodged the infantry of our enemy from the second village we came to a small plain before Benhute, where we knew that the greater body of the enemy was intrenched, and to which all the fugitives had retired. We expected to have a bloody battle, but not to be cannonaded in form by a battery which fired both grape and bullets, reaching our square, and even going beyond us. I now saw death close at my side : in the short space of ten minutes three persons were killed whilst I was speaking to them. I dared no longer converse with any one, for the last was struck by a ball, which we both saw coming up ploughing the ground before it, and appearing to be almost spent. My friend lifted up his foot to let it pass him, when a sudden leap of the ball struck him on the heel, and tore the muscles of his leg, making a wound which the next day proved fatal to this young officer, as we wanted the necessary instruments for amputation.

We fancied that, according to the custom of the country, their unmounted pieces were capable but of one direction : we were, however, not a little surprised on perceiving that their balls followed our movements, so as to oblige us to quicken our pace in posting ourselves in front of the village, where we maintained the action, while the carabineers and chasseurs proceeded to turn their battery, and to carry it at the bayonet's point. The moment the drums beat to charge, the Mamelukes came forward to the attack of our carabineers, who, after having received them with a discharge of musketry, by which they were repulsed, stormed and carried the battery, making a general massacre of all those who served the artillery. These guns were French : and were found on inspection to have belonged to *P'Italie*, the commodore's bark of our flotilla. We were in hopes that after this important capture the battle would terminate, by the dispersion or flight of the army of Meccans : a part of which, however, maintained its ground for a considerable time in a small grove of palm-trees ; while the other which was still more numerous, made a retreat, we dared not harass, since, whenever we passed beyond the thickets and enclosed grounds to effect a rapid movement, the Mamelukes, by whom we were constantly flanked, had it in their power to attack and drive us back. It was therefore necessary to march in order of battle, and with the troops formed to receive them. During six hours we had been unceasingly engaged with an enemy, undisciplined it is true, but brave, fanatic, and tenfold our

retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the centre, and the division of General Lannusse was to remain in the second line.

number, who attacked with fury and made an obstinate resistance, never retreating unless in a body, insomuch so that it became necessary to cut off in detail the detachments as they advanced. Worn out, and panting with the extreme heat, we stopped a moment to take breath. We were utterly destitute of water, of which we never had stood so much in need. I recollect finding, in the heat of action, a jug of water at the extremity of a wall, when not having time to drink, I poured the contents on my bosom, to allay the burning heat by which I was tormented.

So long as our enemies kept possession of their batteries, they retreated confidently, having supplies of men on whom they could depend. We were then of opinion that it was their intention to bring us, by a feigned retreat, within the reach of these batteries. But when we had lost them, we considered that, as the small wood to which they had retreated, was become their last and only point of defence, they would either try the chance of a decisive action, swim across the Nile, or, join the Mamelukes, and disappear with them, which it was impossible for us to prevent. On approaching the wood, we perceived, however, that it contained a large village, with a fortress belonging to the Mamelukes, provided with bastions and battlements, the approach to which was rendered still more difficult, as the enemy were provided with arms and ammunition of every description, which we found had belonged to us, both by the distance to which the balls were sent, and by the balls themselves. We were employed for upwards of two hours in attacking this fortress on every side, without being able to find any point from which the enemy did not assail us, successfully. Sixty men were killed, and as many wounded. On the approach of night we set fire to the houses in the vicinity, took possession of a mosque, cut off the enemy's retreat by the Nile, and endeavoured to mount afresh the guns we had recaptured. On their side, the besieged were employed in augmenting the number of their battlements, in constructing low batteries, and in pointing guns which they had not as yet brought into use. Several peasants, who had escaped both from the fire of the besiegers and that of the besieged, found their way to us, and informed us, that on the day after the departure of General Desaix in pursuit of Murad-Bey, the Meccans, who had recently quitted the desert, attacked *Platie* and the flotilla under her protection; when, after a severe conflict of twenty hours, the crew of the commodore's bark had run her aground, and, from an apprehension of being boarded, set fire to her, and entered the small barks, but that ultimately all our unfortunate men had been killed. They added, that since that time the Meccans had been employed in collecting the means of attack and defence with which their conquest had supplied them. That they sunk one of our vessels, to force all those who should navigate the

General Destaing, with the force under his orders, charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned

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river to pass within reach of their battery; and had thus rendered themselves masters of the Nile. And, finally, that, notwithstanding all the losses they had sustained in men, they were still very numerous and resolute.

At day-break we began to batter the fortress, with a view of making a breach: as it was, however, constructed of unbaked bricks, each bullet simply made a hole, without bringing down any part of the building. The flames at the same time effected no progress, on account of the court-yards, which separated the principal building from the circumvallation. At nine in the morning the Mamelukes advanced with their camels, as if with a view to throw succours into the place. A party was sent out against them, and they retreated after a slight resistance. General Beliard, perceiving that the result of the palliative means hitherto employed had been productive of a loss of time and of men, gave orders for an assault, which was given and received with unexampled valour. The first circumvallation was opened under the enemy's fire; and, notwithstanding the incessant discharges of musketry from the besieged, by whom a sortie was made, combustible matters were introduced which annoyed them in their retreat. One of their magazines blew up, and the flames extended in every direction. Being without water, they extinguished the fire with their feet and hands, and even endeavoured to smother it by throwing themselves on it. They were seen, black and naked, running through the flames, resembling so many devils, so that I could not view them without an emotion of horror blended with admiration. Intervals of tranquillity succeeded, when a solitary voice resounded, which was answered by sacred hymns and warlike shouts. The enemy then rushed on us from all sides, notwithstanding the certainty of death.

Towards the close of the evening we stormed; and this operation was long and terrible. Twice we penetrated into the interior of the fortress, and twice we were driven back. I was not so much terrified by the losses we sustained, as the reflection that we had fresh efforts to make against an enemy whom we could not intimidate, and I knew besides, that we were reduced to our last box of cartridges. In the latter of these two attempts to storm, Captain Bulliot, an officer of distinguished bravery, but rash, heedless, and imprudent, perished. Having a foreboding of his approaching dissolution, he drew me towards him, squeezed my hand, and bade me a mournful adieu. A moment after, I saw him dragging himself along on his hands and feet, and endeavouring to snatch his body from the jaws of death.

When night drew on, hostilities were suspended. As we had been engaged during two days, it was necessary to take a little breath.

Painful duties succeeded to the dangers of the combat. We heard the cries of the wounded, having no remedies to administer, and on whom we could not perform the most urgent operations for want of instruments. Our loss in men had been very considerable, and we

their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village, but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by

had still many enemies to subdue. The necessity of sparing our gallant troops made us substitute for an attack by storm the expedient of burning the enemy's buildings. For this purpose two fires were kindled; posts were stationed at all the avenues: which were relieved from time to time to render the duty less severe. As our danger required an exactness of service and discipline, the troops reposed in battle array. Towards the middle of the night, a donkey, followed by a she-ass, entered the quarters at full speed. In a moment every one was up and at his post, amidst silence and good order as striking as the occasion was ridiculous.

An unfortunate Coptic bishop, a prisoner in the fortress, made his escape, under shelter of the darkness of night, with a few followers, and, having been exposed in his flight to the fire of our advanced posts, reached us, covered with wounds and contusions. After having taken some refreshments, he entered into a detail of the horrors from which he had just escaped. During the last twelve hours, the besieged had been without water; their walls were heated through; their swollen tongues choked up the passage of the air; and, in short, their situation was terrible. In reality, a few minutes after, and an hour before break of day, thirty of the besieged, who were the best armed, forced a passage through one of our advanced posts. At dawn our troops entered by the breaches that the fire had made, and put to the sword those who, notwithstanding they were half roasted alive, still offered resistance. One of them, who appeared to be a chief, was brought to the General. He was in so swollen a state, that in endeavouring to stoop in order to seat himself, his skin cracked in every part. "If," said he, "I am brought hither to be killed, I beg that you will hasten and put me out of my misery." He was accompanied by a slave, who regarded his master with so deep an expression of grief, that I felt an esteem both for one and the other. The dangers by which this slave was surrounded could not alienate for a moment his affectionate concern for his master. He lived for him alone: he viewed him; and could see no other object. What looks! how tender and how deep a melancholy! How good must he have been, who was thus cherished by his slave! However deplorable his lot, I could not help envying him who was thus beloved. Recurring to my own situation, I said to myself:—To satisfy an idle and vain curiosity, here am I, a thousand leagues distant from France, surrounded by my valiant countrymen, among whom I seek a friend. Yesterday I was in the company of warriors, whose excellent qualities I esteemed, and whose transcendent bravery I admired: to-day I attend their funeral; and to-morrow I shall abandon their remains on the foreign soil to which my ill-fated steps have conducted me. It was but just now a young man, replete with health and courage, braved the enemy whom he was about to combat. I saw him attack where danger was most imminent: I beheld him fall; and heard the accents of grief which

the cavalry. The corps against which the division of General Lannes advanced, seeing that stationed on the right gave way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its position, attempted to retire, after discharging a few cannon shot; but the two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the sea, not a man

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succeeded the expressions of his valorous impetuosity. He appealed in vain; and as he dragged himself along, the fire communicated to the cartridges he had about him. His body and limbs were mutilated by the explosion; but still his voice was heard. I saw him expire; and to-morrow—to-morrow the post that he held will console for his loss the companion by whom he is to be succeeded. O man! from what source do you draw your virtues, if such ignoble passions lurk in the most honourable of all professions? This is a cruel egotism which misfortune does not correct, and which becomes atrocious, seeing that danger forbids it to be concealed. In a state of warfare it is best appreciated, and its terrible effects more particularly felt. Let us direct our view, however, to the advantageous side of the profession.

On the morning of the 23d of March, General Beliard pardoned the prisoners he had made, and, by dismissing them, they became acquainted with our generosity, and with the difference of our customs from theirs. Several of them, impressed with gratitude, and with tears in their eyes, demanded permission to follow us.

The Mamelukes again made their appearance. On our going out to meet them, we found that this was a false attack which they had contrived, to afford them time to load their camels with water. As we had put an end to the siege, we pursued them to the desert, where we had an opportunity of seeing all their forces collected together. They consisted of a thousand horse, as many camels, and about two thousand foot. The rest of their army was made up of the Meccans whom they had so perfidiously drawn into their quarrel, and afterwards abandoned in so dastardly a manner. We fancied at first that they were about to penetrate into the desert; they however took up their station on a rising ground, regulating their movements by ours, and having in their rear horsemen, who apprised them by discharges of musketry of the halts which we made, as well as of our advances. We felt more than ever the inutility of pursuing them when they would not fight, and how impossible it was to surprise them in a country where they had, on each side of the river, a retreat always open, and which was secure to them as long as they should be superior in cavalry, and able to protect their camels. We therefore gave up a useless pursuit, and very wisely returned to secure and protect our barks. The remainder of the day was spent by the General in collecting together and putting on board the guns, ammunition, and warlike implements which we had recaptured.

escaped in this affair, during which Hercule, commander of the horse guides, was wounded. General Destaing's force then marched against the village, which nearly fronted the centre of the enemy's second line, this post he turned while the thirty-second demi-brigade attacked it in front. The enemy here made a spirited resistance; a considerable number of men were detached, from the left of the second line, to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged and routed by the cavalry, which drove the greater part of the fugitives into the sea. The village was then speedily carried, and its defenders pursued as far as the redoubt, that was in the centre of the second position. This post was very strong, the redoubt being flanked by a work which covered the peninsula, on the right, as far as the sea; another work of similar construction extended to the left, but to a small distance from the redoubt; the rest of the space was occupied by the enemy, who were posted on the sand-hills, and among groves of palm trees.

While the troops took breath, several pieces of artillery were planted at the village, and along the shore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right, and on the redoubt; General Destaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the centre of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Fugieres received orders to form the eighteenth demi-brigade in column, and march along the shore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the enemy. The thirty-second, occupying the left of the village, had orders to hold the enemy in check, and to support the eighteenth. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it several times with great impetuosity; it cut down, or drove into the sea all before it, but could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gun-boats. Impelled, how-

ever, by their ardour into this terrible situation, they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the enemy were continually supplied by fresh troops.

This resistance, and these obstacles, only irritated the boldness, and stimulated the courage of the cavalry to new attacks : at each charge they rushed forward to the very fosse of the redoubt ; and, in this attempt, the Chief-of-Brigade Duvivier was killed. The Adjutant-General Roize, who directed their movements with equal coolness and talent, Bessieres, Chief-of-Brigade of the Cavalry Guides, and Adjutant-General Le Turq, were at the head of the several charges. The horse artillery and that of the guides took a position in face of the enemy's musketry, whence, by a brisk discharge of grape-shot, they powerfully contributed to the success of the battle. Adjutant-General Le Turq judged that a reinforcement of infantry was requisite ; he represented this to the General-in-Chief, who sent him with a battalion of the seventy-fifth ; when he rejoined the cavalry, but his horse being soon killed, he put himself at the head of the infantry. With this view he flew to the centre of the left to join the eighteenth demi-brigade, which he saw advancing to attack the intrenchments of the enemy's right. The eighteenth continued to advance ; the enemy at the same time made a sortie from their position in the same direction, and engaged the fronts of the columns man to man ; on which occasion the Turks endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French, those weapons being found so destructive ; when, in despair, they flung their own muskets behind them, and fought with the sabre and pistol. At length the eighteenth reached the intrenchments, but the fire from the redoubt, which every where flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, stopped the column. General Fugieres and Adjutant-General Le Turq displayed prodigies of valour ; the former received a wound in the head ; but nevertheless continued to fight ; soon after, a ball carried

away his left arm, and he was constrained to follow the movements of the eighteenth, which, in the greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. Adjutant-General Le Turq, having vainly endeavoured to determine the column to throw itself into the enemy's intrenchments, leaped therein himself, but being alone, he soon met a glorious death; previous to which, the Chief-of-Brigade Morangie was wounded, and twenty brave fellows of the eighteenth killed upon the spot. The Turks, in face of the heavy fire from the village, then rushed from their intrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigrette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The General-in-Chief had ordered a battalion of the twenty-second light infantry, and another of the sixty-ninth, to advance upon the left of the enemy; General Lannes, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt; he attacked it with the greatest vigour on the left flank, and on its gorge; the twenty-second, the sixty-ninth, and a battalion of the seventy-fifth, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet, and within the redoubt; at the same time the eighteenth charging the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, and accompanied all the movements of the tirailleurs, took advantage of the moment in which General Lannes stormed the redoubt, to order the cavalry to charge, and to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort. This operation was executed so opportunely, and with such vigour and effect, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort, and their rout was therefore complete. The enemy, confused and terror-struck, beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayonet; the



cavalry cut them down with the sabre : no alternative but the sea remained. To this sad resource the routed enemy fled, as a last refuge. Ten thousand men committed themselves to the waves ; showers of musketry and grape-shot followed them :—never did so terrible a sight present itself ; not one man survived ! the ships were two leagues distant in the road of Aboukir. Mustapha-Pacha, the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army, and two hundred men, were made prisoners ; about two thousand remained dead on the field of battle. All the tents and baggage, twenty pieces of cannon, of which two had been given to the Grand Signior by the Court of London, fell into the hands of the French. Two English boats saved themselves by flight. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot ; all within were panic-struck. A flag of truce was sent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by twelve hundred men ; it was proposed to them to surrender ; some were inclined to agree, while others refused ; the day was spent in parleying ; at length a position was taken, and the wounded were removed.

This glorious affair cost the French army an hundred and fifty men killed, and about seven hundred wounded ; among the latter was General Murat, who had so greatly contributed in gaining the victory. The Chief-of-Brigade Cretin, of the engineers, an officer of consummate merit, and Guibert, aid-de-camp to the General-in-Chief, died of their wounds. In the night the enemy's squadrons communicated with the fort, the garrison of which was re-organised and defended it ; accordingly batteries of cannon and mortars were erected for its reduction. During these operations, Bonaparte repaired to Alexandria, the condition of which he examined. The conduct of General Marmont, with respect to the fortifications ; and the state of every branch of the military service, could not be too highly praised ; in a word, it fully justified the confidence placed in him by Napoleon, when he conferred on that officer the command of so important a place.

On the 26th July, the fort of Aboukir was summoned to surrender. The son of the Pacha, his kiaya, and the officers, were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. On the 27th, the bombardment was continued. On the 28th July, several batteries were erected on the right and left of the isthmus; some gun-boats were sunk, and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The same day the besieged, who began to be destitute of provisions, got into some houses of the village which joined the works; General Lannes approached to attack them, but was severely wounded in the leg, when General Menou succeeded him in the command of the siege. On the 30th July, General Davoust forced the trenches, and those houses wherein the enemy was lodged; and, after some slaughter, drove his opponents into the fort. The twenty-second demi-brigade of light infantry, and the Chief-of-Brigade, Magny, who was slightly wounded, behaved admirably; the success of this day, which hastened the reduction of the fort, is to be ascribed to the conduct and resolution of General Davoust.

On the 2d of August, General Robin made himself master of the trenches; batteries were raised on the counterscarp, and the mortars played with vigour, so that the fort became little more than a heap of stones. The besieged had no communication with the squadron, and were in extreme want of provisions, yet they did not capitulate, which is customary with the Turks, who at length threw down their arms, and came in a crowd to embrace the knees of the victor. The son of the Pacha, the kiaya, and two thousand men, were made prisoners. In the fort were found three hundred wounded and eighteen hundred dead; some of the bombs had killed as many as six men each. Within four and twenty hours after the garrison surrendered, more than four hundred of the prisoners died through excessive eating and drinking. Thus the actions at Aboukir cost the Port eighteen thousand men, and an immense quantity of cannon.

The commandant of the artillery, Faultrier, and the engineer officers, Bertrand and Liedot, distinguished themselves highly on the recent occasions. Order and tranquillity reigned throughout the country, during the fifteen days which the expedition to Aboukir had continued, a signal operation which terminated the glorious exploits of Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt.\*

\* From the period when Bonaparte quitted France for Egypt, namely, the 19th May, 1798, until his sailing from the latter country on the 23d August, 1799, the following were the leading intercalary events that took place in Italy and Germany, with regard to the operations of the French forces:—

On the 2d December, 1798, General Macdonald defeated the Neapolitans at Monterosi, and two days after at Civita Castellana.

On the 6th, Championnet routed General Mack and General Mathieu, re-possessed himself of Antricoli from the Neapolitans.

On the 14th, General Macdonald entered Rome, and, on the 23d, Kellerman defeated General Damas at Montalto.

On the 30th, General Broussier having forced the enemy into an ambuscade, completely routed him, and, on the 21st January, 1799, the French forces, under Kellerman and Duhesme, directed their march in order to effect a junction with Championnet, when, after traversing the Appennines, in spite of opposition, they captured *Sulmona* and *Isernia* by assault, and the right wing of the Neapolitans being completely turned, a truce was agreed upon, the latter surrendering up Capona, with half of the kingdom and eight millions, that capitulation being acceded to by the king, who had fled to Sicily. The French then traversed the *Wolturno*, establishing their head-quarters at *Cussete*, one of the royal residences, at which period a revolution, as unexpected as extraordinary, compelled the French to resume their military operations and march upon Naples.

The Lazzaroni, in beholding the French commissary, who presented himself to raise the sums agreed upon, attacked the Royal Neapolitan troops, whom they disarmed, taking possession of the guns, stores, &c. in the arsenal. They then assailed the French camp, a measure that was imitated by the surrounding towns, upon which Championnet found himself necessitated to attack Naples, and a most desperate and sanguinary conflict ensued; the Lazzaroni, however, were ultimately forced to submit, and the city was given up amidst shouts of "*Viva la Liberté!*"

In Germany, from the 1st March, 1799, when hostilities recommenced, many battles were fought, and General Jourdan effected his retreat, while Massena no less distinguished himself against the Archduke Charles and General Suarow, whom he completely routed, at the sanguinary battle of Zurich, an event that occurred on the 30th September, 1799, one month subsequently to the sailing of Napoleon from Egypt for Europe.

CHAP. VI.

NAPOLÉON embarks for France—Effect produced on the Army by his Departure—Kleber appointed Commander-in-Chief—Description of that General—The Grand Vizir advances against the French, and is defeated—Negociations between Kleber and Sir Sydney Smith—Armistice signed—M. Denon arrives at Kenh from whence he proceeds to Kous—Ruins at that Place—Arrival at Thebes—Temples at Karnac and Luxor, Salamieh and Esneh—Temple of Latopolis—Ruins at Chenubis and Apollinopolis—Remains at Etfu—Route to Tombuctoo—Crocodiles—Ruins at Dendera—Ancient Zodiac—Tentyra—Tombs of the Egyptian Monarchs at Thebes—Grottos, Paintings, and Sculptures—Ancient Manuscript on Papyrus—Porticoes of Medinet Abu—Statues of Memnon and Osymandias, Concerning Mummies, and ancient Mode of Sepulture—Embarkation for Cairo—Ruins of Antinoë—Monastery of the Chain—Embarkation for France, and arrival at Frejus—Amount of the Ottoman and French Armies—Convention signed at El-Arish—Desaix embarks for France—Description of that General—Kleber's secret Despatches to the Directory fall into the Hands of the English—The Convention with Kleber broken by the British—Kleber attacks the Grand Vizier, and defeats, with Thirteen Thousand Men, the Ottoman Army composed of Forty Thousand Troops—Kleber returns to Cairo, defeats the Turks, and re-possesses himself of that City—Death of General Lanusse—Conditions of the Treaty for the evacuating of Egypt—Assassination of General Kleber—Menou appointed Commander-in-Chief, and Letter of that Officer detailing the State of the French Army on its Embarkation for Europe.

WE shall now proceed to close Napoleon's career in Egypt, and the departure of the French army from that country, in the words of an officer belonging to the French commissariat, who details those memorable events in the following manner.

With what transports the intelligence of the fortunate result of the battle of Aboukir was received at Cairo; we embraced, we congratulated each other, our joy was unanimous and sincere. Every passion, every interest was absorbed in the splendour of this memorable victory, which had avenged the affront our navy had received on that same shore.

Mustapha-Pacha, and the Turkish prisoners were sent to Cairo. They were pledges of the prosperity of our arms. Nothing less than their presence was necessary to convince the incredulous Egyptians that we did not deceive them with regard to the extent of the loss sustained by the Ottomans.

The Turks wounded at the battle of Aboukir, who had escaped the carnage, were sent to Patrona-Bey, who commanded the Turkish fleet. The transport of these prisoners established frequent communications with the English and Turkish ships, by which means one of our officers procured the English gazettes and those of Frankfort up to the 10th of June. They contained the intelligence of our reverses in Italy, and the disastrous situation of affairs which, without doubt, confirmed Bonaparte in his project of returning to France.

The General-in-Chief slept at Rahmanieh on the 6th of August, and on the 22d arrived at Cairo. On the 30th he received a letter from Admiral Gantheaume, which announced that the English and Turkish fleets had sailed. A journey into the Delta was immediately spoken of at head-quarters. The object of Bonaparte, they said, in this absence, which would be only for a few days, was to visit that fertile island, and promote the re-establishment of the canals, which had been so long neglected.

He wrote to the Divan: "To-morrow I set out to repair to Menouf, from whence I shall make different excursions into the Delta, to the end that I may myself witness the injustice which is committed, and acquire a knowledge of the men of the country."

"I recommend it to you to maintain confidence among the people: remind them frequently of my love for Musulmen; and that my purpose is to confer happiness upon them. Acquaint them that I have two great means to conduct men;—persuasion and force; with the one I gain friends, and with the other I destroy my enemies."

"Let me hear from you as often as possible, and inform me of the situation of affairs."

Bonaparte had long been aware of the necessity of acting promptly to insure the success of any project. He caused Denon, Monge, and Berthollet, to be informed of his intent the same evening. Preparations for so sudden a departure could not be kept so secret as to prevent our divining the true cause. At first it was only in whispers and with precaution that we dared to communicate our thoughts to each other respecting this intended voyage, however, on the 18th August, in the morning, we learnt that Bonaparte was no longer at Cairo.

Whether General Dugua was in the confidence of Bonaparte, or unwilling to persuade himself of the truth of conjectures derived from so many circumstances, he affected the greatest discontent, and declared that he would punish whoever should advance that Bonaparte was set out for France. These menaces, however, were ineffectual, or rather produced a contrary feeling. Our opinions, suppressed for some time, acquired a degree of violence which burst forth in the most abusive terms.

Bonaparte had appointed a meeting with General Kleber and Menou, he, however, only saw the latter, to whom he confided the command of Alexandria. On the 23d of August, Bonaparte, accompanied by the Generals

Berthier, Murat, Lannes, and Marmont, embarked on board the frigates *La Muiron* and *La Carere*, leaving the following proclamation to his army.

**"SOLDIERS,**

**"The affairs of Europe recal me to France. I leave the command of the forces to General Kleber. The army shall soon receive intelligence from me. It is painful to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it shall not be for long. The General whom I have left possesses both my confidence and that of the government."**

On arriving on board, Bonaparte found a great many Frenchmen in the vessel, who had availed themselves of this opportunity, in order to quit the country, which had proved to them so fraught with ingratitude, and, under the command of the General, the frigate was ere long in readiness to set sail. The breeze soon filling the canvas, the safety of the vessel was committed to the pilot, when suddenly a sloop hove alongside at the imminent risk of being run down, wherein Napoleon recognized a leading officer in the French army, who, during a recent action, had had one of his arms broken, which he still continued to wear in a sling. After having rendered the necessary assistance in conveying him on board, Bonaparte thus addressed him—

**"You come, my friend, in defiance of death itself by thus exposing your person, wounded as you are, to this long and hazardous voyage."**

**"General,"** replied the officer with enthusiasm, **"the loss of life is to me of no consequence, so I can but perish with you."**

Bonaparte, astonished at this noble devotedness to his own person, experienced for a time that pleasing satisfaction which accompanies the certainty of being beloved, and, from that period, he became particularly attached to the officer in question, who never after failed to experience his most marked attention.

Among other parts of Napoleon's conduct, which have

fallen particularly under the censure of Englishmen, is, what has been most unjustly termed his *base* and *cowardly* desertion of his army in Egypt. But why call it cowardly?—Was there any thing like cowardice in braving the manifest danger to which he was exposed on a sea covered with the enemy's vessels, where he was every moment in danger of falling into their hands?—and to have become their prisoner certainly could not be the object of his wishes. Surely a dispassionate view of the case would rather lead us to consider it as one of those daring acts which have marked, in a distinguished manner, a mind that soared above all petty calculations of risk to his own person, when any object was to be pursued in unison with the aspiring nature of his genius. A coward would have waited to make the best terms he could with the enemy for his own personal safety, and gladly have purchased life and freedom at the expense of his honour. Bonaparte saw that the only prospect of continuing that career of fame, and service to his country, which he had long successfully run, was in hazarding something, and that something he resolved should be *himself*. It is difficult to guess how even his greatest enemies have been able to discover any thing *cowardly* in this act.

It is well known that two years before Bonaparte's elevation to the Consulate, the Directory, jealous of the national attachment to Bonaparte, were determined to send him on the Egyptian expedition. Carnot afterwards in plain terms accused the triumvirate of the Directory, as they were called, Reubel, Barras, and La Réveillère, with having become so extremely jealous of the ascendancy which Bonaparte had acquired over the minds of the people through his military achievements, that they had repeatedly plotted his destruction. But his unexpected return baffled all their schemes.

When Bonaparte embarked, an English cutter was in sight of the two frigates, the officers who accompanied him drew the saddest presages from this circumstance,



and said that it would be difficult to escape the vigilance of the enemy. "True!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "but we shall arrive—Fortune has never abandoned us; we shall arrive in despite of the English." They set sail in the night, and Gantheaume, perfect master of his manœuvres, ranged along the coast of Africa, choosing a longer but more certain route of navigation.

On the 30th of September, 1799, the two frigates entered the gulf of Ajaccio. On the 8th of October, being in sight of the coast of France, they perceived an English fleet of from eight to ten sail; Admiral Gantheaume was desirous immediately to tack about and return to Corsica; "No, no," said Bonaparte, "that manœuvre would conduct us to England,—and my will is to arrive in France." This was the first time since he left Egypt that he had expressed a will of his own; and it proved the means of their safety.

October 9th, Bonaparte disembarked at Frejus, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, and upon a sea covered with the enemies' ships,

So much was the unexpected return of Bonaparte from Egypt looked upon as the auspicious omen of the end of the reign of anarchy, that when the news of his arrival reached Marseilles the event was celebrated with a general illumination, bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy. Of the particular circumstances that were to succeed it, no one pretended to form any conjecture; but the general sensation among all who desired to see the return of order within, and of victory without, was to look up to him as the only person from whom these benefits were to be expected.

But an impulse of a very different nature seized the minds of the magistracy of Toulon, who were greatly influenced by the Directory, which Napoleon had come to overturn. It was known there that the plague had made considerable ravages among the army in Egypt; and when the report was circulated that Bonaparte had landed at

Frejus, and proceeded immediately to Paris, without the vessel or any of the crew having been subjected to the usual quarantine, couriers were sent after him with orders not to stop on the road upon any consideration till they had overtaken him, and to bring him and his companions back, that they might be put into quarantine. But Bonaparte had got so much the start of them, and pursued his journey with such alacrity, that he arrived at Paris long before them; and the memorable events which crowded upon each other from the moment of his arrival, soon turned the public attention from all other objects to fix it on them alone.

We learned at Cairo, at one and the same time, the arrival of the General-in-Chief at Alexandria, his embarkation, and his departure. This news plunged us all into consternation. It had become habitual to each of us, to confide in that chief, the favourite of fortune, and commander as it were of our destinies. Our confidence in him was such, that we believed ourselves destined to die in Africa, when we learned that he had sailed from Alexandria; and this was the first impression which the departure of the General-in-Chief made upon the army.

Such is the progress of the human mind, that after having exhausted all the most unfavourable conjectures, all the probabilities of an afflicting futurity, it eagerly attaches itself to the smallest ray of hope, though often deceitful; thus, the idea of a salutary change in France, and the still more flattering hope of an approaching and glorious peace, insensibly calmed the agitation of our minds. Bonaparte had promised us speedy succours, we depended upon them, by calculating upon the importance which he ought to attach to the preservation of his conquest. The name of Kleber, however, succeeded in tranquillising the most alarmed; he possessed both the esteem and the confidence of the troops, and he deserved them.

Kleber was almost six feet high, of prodigious strength and a stern countenance. His look was fiery and proud, his appearance majestic, and his manners cold. His genius and courage were equal to his loyalty and love of discipline. He was uncommonly plain and soldier-like in his dress. His conversation announced a well-informed man, profound and perfectly conversant with the human heart. From some remarks of his on Bonaparte, it would appear that he judged differently of that General from many others; Kleber, indeed, was little susceptible of enthusiasm. It appeared that the campaign in Syria had not answered the idea which he had formed of the military talents of Bonaparte. He did justice to his extraordinary activity; but he blamed that impatience which never respects the fatigues and life of the soldier. I well remember the following words of his on that subject. "To go is nothing, we should be able to return. To take is nothing, we should know how to keep." Kleber possessed the qualities of a great General; and what is very rare, he knew how to obey like a soldier.

The defeat of the Ottomans, at Aboukir, ensured our tranquillity for some time, and increased our preponderance in Egypt. Murad-Bey, not having been able to second the descent of the Turks, once more re-ascended the Nile, and removed from the city so dear to his remembrance. He returned into those distant provinces which Desaix had been obliged to abandon, where he established himself, in the expectation of a more favourable conjuncture, which was not long in offering itself.

Kleber, on his part, having no more enemies to repulse in the interior, occupied himself with all that could contribute to the well-being of the army. He extended his cares to different branches of the administration, particularly to the hospitals. He proceeded actively in the completion of the clothing of the troops, and he assigned them cantonments which were contiguous to each other, where they reposed in expectation of new combats.

He likewise ordered that, in future, the inhabitants of the country should render him those honours which they had decreed to the Beys and the Pachas. Bonaparte did not display any great retinue when in Cairo, unless on occasions of ceremony. He was usually accompanied by his aides-de-camp, and some guides. To conform to the usages of the country he had taken only two Egyptian domestics, who bore jerides or pikes; they ran by the side of his horse, one holding the bridle, and the other the stirrup when he dismounted.

Kleber caused himself to be preceded, in the manner of the country, by two rows of staffsmen, who, striking the ground with their long staves, cried before him in Arabic; "Behold the General-in-Chief, Mussulmen, prostrate yourselves;" I believe this was the formula. The inhabitants made way for him; those on asses or mules dismounted, and all bowing themselves and crossing their arms on their breasts, made the customary reverence. He was frequently accompanied by the Aga of the Janissaries, the Cheiks of the city, or the members of the Divan. The Turks revered him because they are fond of an imposing stature, and I remember that they found Bonaparte deficient in height. They said that Kleber was a real Sultan, and the more he required their homage, the readier were they to accord him their admiration.

After the departure of General Murat with Bonaparte, General Davoust took the command of the cavalry, which occupied Bulak. I there resided in a house which was absolutely washed by the Nile from its foundation, and, on raising myself a little in my bed, I was able on awaking to contemplate the majestic pyramids of Gizeh.

This tranquillity, on which we had reckoned so much, was soon disturbed by the intelligence that new parties were forming in Syria. This, however, in great part originated with the Arabs, and at least appeared much exaggerated, if not entirely without foundation.

The emperor Selim, roused by the English and the Russians to attend to his interests, at last determined to chase the French from his dominions. Whilst the Turkish fleet, under the orders of Patrona-Bey, debarked at Aboukir, the grand Vizir Youssef-Pacha advanced from the east with a considerable army, composed of a mass of individuals, who had flocked with many Pachas from the interior of Asia, and from Mount Caucasus.

Patrona-Bey, after being a useless witness of the disaster of his army, retired to the island of Cyprus, where he was massacred in a revolt of the Janissaries, October 18th. Seid Ali-Bey, who had arrived in the mean time from Constantinople with the second maritime expedition, assumed the command in chief. As soon as he had, by his firmness, suppressed the mutiny and re-established order in the army, he concerted with Sir Sidney Smith an attack upon Damietta, with the purpose of attracting the attention of Kleber to that point, and of enabling the Grand Vizir to advance with his army by the desert. In effect, the squadrons of Ali-Bey and Sir Sidney Smith appeared before Damietta at the end of October, but the slowness with which the Turks proceeded in their preparations enabled General Verdier to put himself in a state to give the enemy a good reception, and to reunite all his disposable forces. Kleber, who easily divined their purpose, was not much disturbed on hearing of this second attack. He confined himself simply to despatching a body of troops upon Salehieh, to support Cathieh and observe the route of the desert.

On the first of November, the Turks, protected by the fire of the gun-boats, effected their descent near Damietta. Our troops immediately charged them with the bayonet. The enemy with no less resolution waited till they were within ten paces, and then, with dreadful cries, rushed upon them sword in hand, and our first line was obliged precipitately to give way. The victory seemed inclined in favour of the enemy, when Osman Aga, chief

of the Janissaries, abandoning himself to his impetuosity, and causing the corps he commanded to quit the post which had been assigned to them, rushed onwards in order to turn our troops, who advanced with firmness to encounter the Janissaries, when the cavalry, by a bold movement, threw themselves upon the rear of the Turks, who sought safety in immediate flight. The enemy lost a great number of men, and their artillery dared not play upon a confused crowd, equally composed of their own troops and those of the French. The sea itself did not arrest the flight of these faithful allies of the English; they threw themselves into the waves to attain the barks, which were in attendance for them, and the shore was covered with spoils and with turbans. It may be remarked that the Turks owe their defeat, at the battle of Damietta, equally with that of Aboukir, to their impatience. General Verdier took nearly eleven hundred prisoners, for whose exchange he treated with Sir Sidney Smith. The latter, after this unsuccessful attempt, marched to rejoin the Grand Vizir in Syria, who, he found, had made very little progress in his march.

At the end of October, the army of the Grand Signor, sixty thousand strong, took a position at the camp formed under Jaffa; and it was at this epocha that the correspondence commenced between Kleber and Sir Sidney Smith, plenipotentiary of the British government at the Sublime Port.

Kleber, determined to negotiate, and deeming the English only auxiliaries of that power, addressed himself to the Grand Vizir. Independently of his desire to obtain an honourable retreat, he hoped to derive some advantage from the time which would be occupied by the conferences. He might, by prolonging the propositions, abate the preparatives of the Grand Vizir, and in the mean time perhaps profit by the arrival of reinforcements which had been promised. The Grand Vizir, however, was not deceived, nor ceased to accelerate the means of

transport to enable the grand army to traverse the desert.

Sir Sidney Smith, on receiving the overtures of Kleber, explained to him, that England was not an auxiliary as he appeared to believe, but rather a principal in the interests in question, and he declared, that notwithstanding the union which subsisted between the Port and the cabinet of St. James in case the Ottoman court should grant a free passage to the French army to evacuate Egypt, such an arrangement could not be accomplished but with the consent of England. He moreover affirmed, that his government had in reality no other motive in interfering with the actual state of affairs than to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish empire, the late events in India having placed the possessions of the subjects of Great Britain out of the reach of all insult, even though the French should remain in Egypt. He then concluded, by laying down as a principle, that peace could not be ratified until Egypt should be restored to its legitimate sovereign, and that to treat for the evacuation of the provinces would be the most likely means of accomplishing that great work.

Kleber, in his reply, explained the motives which had determined him exclusively to address the Grand Vizir, observing, however, that in his relations with Mahmed Rachedy, Effendi, he had solicited the intervention of Great Britain, fully persuaded that such interference would prove an important step towards a definitive peace. In fine, after having drawn a brilliant picture of the state of his army, he refuted part of the observations which Sir Sidney Smith had made on the state of affairs in Europe, and of the change which a new war in Italy would produce in the situation of France. Kleber concluded, by informing him that he was about to address the Grand Vizir to engage him to appoint two plenipotentiaries to meet the two commissioners that should be named to represent the General-in-chief of the French army. He, moreover, assured him, that he had not the slightest

objection to the conferences being held even on board the ship of Sir Sidney Smith. The commissioners chosen by Kleber were General Desaix and M. Poussielgue, administrator-general of finances. The commodore, in his answer, dated head-quarters at Jaffa, announced, that, after an interview with his Highness in presence of the Russian agents, it had been decided by common consent, that the conferences should take place on board his ship, and for that purpose, he should repair without loss of time before Alexandria, in order to receive on board the persons appointed to treat for the French army.

After some delay, occasioned by the unfavourable state of the weather, the two plenipotentiaries arrived on board the *Tiger*. The first propositions, the object of which was to neutralize the alliance of the three united powers in case of the evacuation of Egypt, were regarded by Sir Sidney as incompatible with the powers with which he was invested; he stated, however, that he should not be backward in consenting to any modifications or arrangements which might lead to a definitive agreement, and that none of his dispositions would be contrary to the treaty of the 6th of January, 1798. The counter-project presented by him contained four principal articles, of which the three first established, that the Ottoman Port, far from being the aggressor, was not ambitious of aggrandisement, or had any desire to continue the war, and would have no pretensions to renew it, after its possessions should be restored; that the French plenipotentiaries having no mission to treat for peace, that important result, to which the occupation of Egypt was the only obstacle, should be discussed by ministers appointed for the purpose. The fourth article acknowledged, that the French army, although menaced on every side, was not beaten: that its bravery, its attitude, and its reputation sufficiently evinced that it still possessed powerful means of resistance; and that it was not in the case of an army obliged to capitulate; but should retain its arms and bag-



gage. The same article provided for the means of transport of the French army to the ports of France, subject to the sole condition of a quarantine, demanded for the safety of Europe.

Whilst these negotiations were proceeding to a termination, the Grand Vizir had advanced to Gaza, for the purpose of laying siege to El-Arish, and Kleber had proceeded with his army upon Salehieh, to observe the movements of the enemy, and support by his presence the representations of his commissioners in reply to the counter-project of Sir Sidney Smith. He wished to obtain, as a compensation for evacuating Egypt, the restitution of the Venetian islands, Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia; the guarantee of the possession of Malta to France; the liberty of transporting his army to any point he might select; and, finally, the dissolution of the triple alliance between the Port, England, and Russia.\*

\* M. Denon's very entertaining and instructive narrative, which we shall now close, thus continues :

It is not until the paroxysm is past, that the sick man discovers how much his strength is exhausted by the fever. While the enemy continued to fire on us with our own powder and balls, we had not calculated the quantity it was requisite to expend, in order to exhaust or recover what had been captured. Whereas now being more tranquil we found our loss in killed and wounded, to amount to one hundred and fifty men.

On the 11th of April we marched towards Keneh, to ascertain whether there were any Meccans in that quarter, and what was become of General Desaix.

Keneh has succeeded Kous, as Kous had succeeded Coptos. Its situation has this advantage, that it is immediately at the entrance of the desert, and on the bank of the Nile.

Its commerce being confined to the passage of the pilgrims, was very inconsiderable, unless at the time when the great caravan was on the road. It is here the pilgrims of the Oasis in Lybia, together with those of Upper Egypt, and a few Nubians, take in their supplies, providing not only what is necessary for the passage across the desert to Goseir, but also for the journey to Gidda, Medina, and Mecca; as well as for their return thence.

General Beliard would have pursued the terrified Mamelukes and vanquished Meccans, but could not not take the field without amnition. We were under the necessity, during our stay at Keneh, to

**In the meantime the plenipotentiaries had signed an armistice which was approved by Kleber. The unfavour-**

fortifying the house where we lodged, and which became the headquarters.

We quitted Kenh during the night, with an intention of surprising the enemy, and, in order to deceive their advanced posts, marched along the desert. When we reached Kous, where they had been encamped, they were no longer to be found, having set out thence at the same time that we had left Kenh.

The hopes of seeing Thebes, in the direction of which we were to march, made me joyfully turn my back once more on Cairo. It was my destiny to attach myself to those who were to proceed the greatest distance up the country; and I accordingly followed General Beliard. I was soon after to join once more General Desaix; and on the evening previous to parting we formed a thousand projects for the future. Our adieux, however, were of a melancholy cast; and on this occasion our separation was to me more distressing than ever. Could I imagine that, young as he was, it would fall to his lot to leave me in the career which I had to run, and that I should remain to regret his loss? We separated, and I have never seen him since. Our detachment had proceeded a league, when the brave Latournerie galloped up to me: he came back to bid me adieu. We had a great affection for each other; and, moved as I was by this mark of his tenderness, I was, notwithstanding, struck by his emotion. We did not embrace each other without shedding a few tears. The profession of arms may harden those whose temperament is cold and frigid: but its horrors do not weaken the sensibility of tender souls.

In passing through Kous, I found in the middle of the square the summit of a large and well-proportioned gate, sunk into the ground to the cornice. This single fragment, which must have belonged to a great edifice, proves that Kous was built on the site of Apollinopolis Parva. The bulk and magnitude of this ruin presents a contrast with all the objects that surround it, which speaks more on the subject of Egyptian architecture than twenty pages of encomium, as this fragment alone appears larger than all the rest of the city.

In the village of Elmechieh, distant half a league from Kous, I found the bases of several edifices of Egyptian free-stone, on which were hieroglyphics. I was in doubt whether these had belonged to a small city, which tradition has not handed down to us, or whether they anciently constituted an isolated temple. Their ruins were too much wasted to enable me to give an idea of them by a drawing, or, to make a plan of any of the parts. On proceeding half a league further, I saw more distinctly, on a small eminence, the base of a temple absolutely remote from any other ruins whatever. I could perceive three layers of large stones, which had formed a kind of pedestal extending to the pavement of the temple, in the front of which was a portico of six columns connected at the lower extremity of their shafts. Quitting this monument, we arrived, after an hour's march, at Nagadi, a large and dull village, situated at the entrance of the desert.

able state of the weather, however, prevented any vessel despatched to Jaffa from approaching that coast to trans-

We proceeded to an enclosure, lately employed as a burial ground, and, after having taken up our lodging, employed ourselves in driving away the bats, and throwing down the tomb-stones. A fortress, a desert, and tombs! We were surrounded by the most dismal objects in the world; and if, with a view to banish the melancholy impression with which these scenes had inspired us, we occasionally went out at night to breathe for a few moments a purer air, our respiration was the only sound that disturbed the tranquillity of the void by which we were terrified.

On the second of April, General Desaix sent for three hundred men and fifty of our cavalry, to do duty at Birambau, and relieve the troops which were to proceed to strengthen the post of Keneh. On the same day we learned that the Mamelukes and Meccans had quitted Kittah and that by the route they had taken, their intention was to pass out of the desert, in a northern direction, at Keneh or Samata. The best dispositions were made on that side; either to oblige them to keep within the boundaries of the desert, or to surprise them on their attempting to quit it. The scouting party belonging to the detachment with which General Desaix was proceeding to Keneh, fell in with the rear-guard of the Mamelukes, and charged. Two hundred infantry and a single field-piece would have converted this skirmish into a victory of great importance to us, at a moment when the beys and kiasses, dispersed and deserted by a part of their Mamelukes, were greatly distressed.

Towards noon we reached the territory of Thebes: and, at the distance of three quarters of a league from the Nile, saw the ruins of a huge temple, not noticed by any traveller, and which may give an idea of the immensity of that city, since, if we suppose that it was the last edifice on the eastern side, it is more than two leagues and an half distant from Medinet-Abu, where the most western temple is situated. This was the third time of my passing through Thebes; and only passing it. At length we arrived at Karnac, a village built on a small part of the site of a single temple, the circumference of which would require half an hour to walk round. Herodotus has given a correct idea of its grandeur and magnificence. Diodorus and Strabo, who examined it in its ruinous state, appear to have described it nearly in its present condition; and all the travellers by whom they have been copied, have mistaken a great extent of masses for beauty, and, having allowed themselves rather to be taken by surprise than charmed on an inspection of the largest ruin in the world, have rashly preferred this temple to those of Apollinopolis, Edfo, and Tentyra, and the simple portico at Esneh. It is probable that the temples of Karnac and Luxor were built in the time of Sesostria, when the flourishing condition of the Egyptians gave birth to the arts among them, and when those arts were perhaps displayed to the world for the first time. The vanity of erecting colossal edifices was the first consideration of opulence; and it was not as yet known, that a perfection in the arts bestows on their productions a

mit the intelligence to the Grand Vizir, who left Gaza on the 10th of October, and arrived in person at El-Arish

grandeur which is independent of their magnitudes. It has, in after ages, been ascertained that the small rotunda of Vicenza is as perfect an edifice as that of St. Peter at Rome. It is therefore the sumptuousness alone of the Egyptians which is to be seen at Karnac, where not only quarries, but mountains are piled together, and hewn out into massive proportions, the traits of which are as feebly executed, as the parts are clumsily connected; and these masses are loaded with uncouth bas-reliefs and tasteless hieroglyphics, by which the art of sculpture is disgraced. The only objects there which are sublime, both in regard to their dimensions, and the skill which their workmanship displays, are the obelisks, and a few of the ornaments of the outer gates, the style of which are admirably chaste. If in the other parts of this edifice the Egyptians appear to us to be giants, in these latter productions they are geniuses. I am accordingly persuaded that these sublime embellishments were added in an after age to the colossal monuments of Karnac. It must however be granted, that the temple is noble and grand. The art of contriving beautiful plans has, in architecture, invariably preceded that of the fine execution of the details, and constantly survived for several centuries the corruption of the latter, as is proved by a comparison of the monuments of Thebes, with those of Esneh and Tentyra, as well as by that of the edifices of the reign of Dioclesian with those of the time of Augustus.

To the known descriptions of the great edifice of Karnac, should be added, that it was but a temple, and could be nothing else. All that exists at present in a somewhat entire state relates to a very small sanctuary, which had been disposed in this way to inspire a due degree of veneration, and to become a kind of tabernacle. On beholding the vast extent of these ruins the imagination is wearied with the idea of describing them. Of the hundred columns of the portico alone of this temple, the smallest are seven feet and an half in diameter, and the largest twelve. The space occupied by its circumvallation contains lakes and mountains. In short, to be enabled to form a competent idea of so much magnificence, it is necessary that the reader should fancy what is before him to be a dream, as he who views the objects themselves rubs his eyes to know whether he is awake. With respect to the present state of this edifice, it is, however, necessary at the same time to observe, that a great part of the effect is lost by its very degraded state. The sphinxes have been wretchedly mutilated, with a few exceptions, which barbarism, wearied with destroying, has spared, and on examining which it is easy to distinguish that some of them had a woman's head, others that of a lion, a ram, a bull, &c. The avenue which leads from Karnac to Luxor was of this latter description; and this space, which is nearly half a league in extent, contains a constant succession of these chimerical figures to the right and left, together with fragments of stone walls, of small columns, and of statues. This point lying in the centre of the city, the part which was the most advantageously

to hasten the reduction of that place. This unfortunate delay occasioned the massacre of part of the garrison of

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placed, there is reason to suppose that the palace of the grandees or kings was situated there.

Luxor, the finest village in these environs, is also built on the site of the ruins of a temple, not so large as that of Karnac, but in a better state of preservation, the masses not having as yet fallen through time, and by the pressure of their own weight. The most colossal parts consist of fourteen columns of nearly eleven feet in diameter, and of two statues in granite, at the outer gate, buried up to the middle of the arms, and having in front of them the two largest and best preserved obelisks known.

A peculiarity belonging to the temple of Luxor is, that a quay, provided with an epaulment, secured the eastern part, which was near the river, from the damages that the inundations might otherwise have occasioned. The epaulment, which since its original structure has been repaired and augmented in brick work, proves that the river has not changed its bed; and its preservation is an evidence that the Nile has never been banked by other quays, since no traces of similar constructions are elsewhere to be met with.

We set out at two o'clock, and reached Salamieh at the expiration of thirteen hours, as if this space of time had been a regulation for our day's march, on all the occasions when we were to pass through Thebes. On the following day we again entered the desert, and arrived before Esneh pretty early. When setting out the day after, we found a small temple, in a very ruinous state, but notwithstanding, very picturesque and singular in its plan, as well as in several of its parts. It consists of a portico with four columns in front, two pilasters, and two columns in the depth, with a sanctuary in the middle, and two lateral apartments, one of which, on the right hand, is scarcely to be traced. Within the portico is a door cut out of the lateral wall to the right, which must have been the entrance of a small sanctuary in which the offerings were made. Another singularity in the elevation of this edifice is, that the capitals of the two columns in the middle of the portico are in relief at their summit, while those of the columns at each extremity are guttered. This building is in a more ruinous state than any other which I have seen in Egypt; and the decay has undoubtedly arisen from the nature of the free-stone with which it was built. The parts that have been added are in better preservation than in the other temples, a circumstance which is to be ascribed to the superior quality of the bricks that were employed. The circumvallation of the temple, within which were contained the lodgings of the priests, may be pretty distinctly made out; and the whole of this enclosure is somewhat elevated above the very small city of Contra-Latopolis, which was built round the compass of this monument. It would appear to have been the practice that all the great cities on the bank of the Nile should have a small city or port on the opposite bank, which was probably placed there for the convenience of commerce. It was scarcely day-break when the troops were marched off; and I regretted that I had

that fort. After a siege of seventy days, the French troops consented to capitulate, and produced upon their

not a better opportunity to study the details of the plan of this temple, and of the buildings which had been subsequently added.

We proceeded in the direction of the mountains. In this latitude the part of Egypt which lies to the right is so narrow, that the chain extends, in two instances, to the Nile, insomuch, that our artillery was conveyed over with difficulty, and the greater part of the day lost. On the other side of these passages the rocks become of a different nature; we found several quarries of free-stone, which no doubt supplied materials for the city and temples of Chenubis, where we arrived an hour after. Within a quarter of a league of this city are two tombs hewn out of the rock, and a small sanctuary surrounded by a gallery, having a portico in front. This monument is unconnected with any other, and is situated in the same way as the catholic chapels that are to be met with in Europe. I next proceeded to view the temple or temples of Chenubis, the ruins of which, as well as those of the city itself, are in so disjointed a state, and so varied in their proportions, that it is very difficult to form any correct idea of their plan. The most considerable and most elevated parts consist of six columns, the capitals of three of which belly out, while those of three others, which are parallel to them, are guttered, and united by an entablature, as far as I could distinguish in passing in a bark. On a nearer view I could perceive, that they had not been built at the same time, and that those which have guttered capitals have never been finished, and were added as a gallery to the others. In the front of this fragment of ruins, to the south, are the bases of a portico, which also appears not to have been finished: and in the same direction is a block of granite that seems to have belonged to a colossal statue. In an eastern direction I met with a basin of water, the circumference of which is lined and decorated by a gallery formed of columns. In the western part of the city the gate of a sanctuary presents itself, together with two very minute fragments, of the nature of which I could not satisfy myself. In the front is a lining in the form of a quay on the Nile. Among these architectural ruins are several of sculpture, among others a group of two figures, coupled together, three feet in height, the heads of which have been broken off. What is most noticeable at Chenubis is an enclosure, the walls of which are built of unbaked bricks, and are of a conical shape, being at their base upwards of twenty-seven feet thick. This extraordinary work, of which history makes no mention, is in many parts in an entire state. I apprehended, at first sight, that it was of Arabic construction; but as there are no ruins or traces of Arabic edifices on the site of Chenubis, we may presume that it is a work of high antiquity, and in this case there is no occasion to construct fortifications of any other description in Egypt, with the exceptions of the jambs and embrasures, together with such other parts as are exposed to friction. In this instance all the great masses have completely resisted the ravages of time, and may still be employed in any defensive measures.

ramparts the English Major Douglas, for the purpose of entering into a treaty. The Turks took advantage of this

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On the following day, after having marched during an hour, we found lying on the ground the remains of two temples, the plans of which could not be traced. These ruins seemed to be deposited there merely to point out the site of the city of Juno Lucina, which the infallible d'Anville has laid down in this latitude.

We at length reached, by the desert, the pass of Rediei, which is a fourth opening from the Kiitah. It has never been frequented by the merchants, and was fatal to the Mamelukes, almost the whole of whom, by taking this road, lost their horses, together with a part of their camels, a considerable number of their attendants, and twenty-six women, out of twenty-eight, whom the Bey had taken with him.

We encamped near the river, where we took up our residence among tombs, and in the vicinity of two withered shrubs of acacia. All those who could be spared were ordered to proceed to Etfu; and I accompanied this party, in the hope of viewing at my leisure the sublime temple of Apollinopolis, the most beautiful of all Egypt, and, next to those of Thebes, the largest. Being built at a period when the arts and sciences had acquired all their splendour, the workmanship of every part is equally beautiful, the hieroglyphics are admirably executed, the figures more varied, and the architecture of a higher order than the Theban edifices, the building of which must be referred to an earlier age.

This superb edifice is seated on a rising ground, so as to overlook not only its immediate vicinity, but the whole valley, and at the foot of this greater temple, but on a considerably lower level, is a smaller one, at present almost buried: the only part still visible is in a hollow where may be seen a little portico of two columns, and as many pilasters, a peristyle, and the sanctuary of the temple, enclosed within a pilastered gallery. A single column, with its capital rising from the ruins, to the height of forty feet above the portico, and the angle of a wall a hundred feet beyond, show that there formerly existed a court in front of the temple. It is remarkable of this monument, notwithstanding the skill displayed in its construction, that the gates are not exactly in the middle of the sides. It seems to have been dedicated to the evil genius, for the figure of Typhon is seen in relief on the four sides of the plinth, which surmounts each of the capitals. The whole frieze, and all the paintings within, appear descriptive of Isis defending herself against the attacks of this monster.

General Beliard arrived during the second day, and we set forward the next morning. At a short distance from Etfu, I found, by the water-side, the remains of a quay, near the entrance of a large canal: no other ruin accompanies this fragment, but from the appearance of a double flight of steps down this mound to the river, it is obvious that it was not constructed solely for the purpose of resisting the current, but was probably a wharf for some town or village, now ruined and forgotten. We again passed by the ruins of Hieraconpolis, of which I have already spoken, and spent the evening four leagues from Etfu. At one in the morning our march was recommended, and on

suspension of arms to rush with impetuosity upon the too confident garrison ; when they massacred three hundred

the 23d of March we arrived at Esneh, worn out with fatigue. I had flattered myself with the hope of enjoying here a few days of repose, but was much disappointed to find that the troops from Mecca, in conjunction with some Mamelukes, were on their march from Girgeh. An entire night was spent in passing the river ; and when our march began, the sun was risen, and very oppressive ; and on the following day, after marching a few hours, I came, for the fourth time, in sight of the majestic ruins of Thebes.

We stopped at Karnac, where the fragments in the highest preservation are the following : A hero, perhaps a Pharaoh, Memnon, Osymandyas, or Sesostris, is seen combating alone from a car in pursuit of people at a distance, with beards, and clothed in long tunics ; he forces them into a marsh, and obliges the rest to take shelter in a fortress. In one fragment he overthrows their chief, already wounded by an arrow. In a second compartment he returns, bringing back the captives. In a third, he presents them fettered to the three divinities, by whose protection he has obtained the victory : for it is to be observed, that in all the above actions his arms are always accompanied and guarded by one or two emblematical hawks. The divinity to whom he presents the fruit of his conquest is that of Abundance, under the figure of Priapus, holding a flail in his right hand, a god to whom the temple of Karnac, the largest in Thebes, and probably one of the greatest and oldest that was ever constructed, is dedicated. From the very sanctuary to the outer walls of the building this divinity is represented by his least equivocal characteristic. The day was advancing, and we had not yet taken any refreshment. While we were thus employed, the sun gained so far upon us, that we resolved to pass the night at Karnac. I immediately returned to my interesting task, and surveyed the ruins.

I had not time to measure the extent of ground occupied by these buildings, but I found repeatedly that twenty-five minutes were required to encompass them on full trot. The passage through the circumvallation, or exterior wall, was by six gates that yet remain, three of which were preceded by avenues of Sphinxes : within the circuit was contained not only the great temple, but three others entirely distinct from it, having each its own gates, porticoes, courts, avenues, and boundary wall—What was their use ? Were they temples or palaces ? Were their sovereigns lodged in the porticoes of the temples, or were their palaces similar in construction to the sacred edifices ? Their accommodations, at least in these out-skirts of the temples, were not to be envied. Large courts with open galleries, and porticoes formed by narrow intercolumniations, could not be very pleasant to live in : the few chambers that there are, of small dimensions, destitute of air and light, and covered with allegories, were but little calculated to attract the eye or please the imagination. Another objection is, that some of these dark chambers contained little tabernacles, in which, no doubt, were enclosed either the figure



men, in despite of all the efforts made by their chiefs and the English officers to prevent such frightful butchery,

of the divinity, or the particular animal emblematical of it, or the sacred treasure; and to any of these none but the priests would be admitted. Probably, therefore, the vast circuit of these buildings were occupied by numerous colleges of priests, the depositaries of the science, the power, and the influence of the country.

In traversing the building, I found myself at the south-western extremity of the circumvallation, where the other smaller temples are situated. I entered one of them, and was struck with a new sensation of astonishment. Behind two buttresses is an open portico of twenty-eight columns, ungraceful in its proportions, but rendered imposing by its severity of style: so true is it in architecture, that where the lines are long, few, and uninterrupted, the effect is always grand and striking. At the end of this first portico is a large open door, leading to a second colonnade of eight pillars in two rows, still more grave in their proportions, and whose character is rendered more impressive by their awful depth of shade, beyond this is a long narrow passage, succeeded by two others, each darker than the preceding, and at the extremity of all is a subterranean sanctuary, which appears to the imagination as the asylum of terror, the temple of the Eumenidæ. The whole of this monument is separated from the rest by a boundary wall.

The heat was so intense, that my feet were scorched through my shoes, and I was unable to sit down for the purpose of drawing, till I had placed my servant between the sun and myself, in order to intercept the rays, and procure for me a little shelter, the very stones were become so hot, that wishing to collect some cornelian agates, which are found in great abundance in the out-skirts of the town, I was obliged to lay each hastily in my handkerchief, as if it was a hot coal. Harassed and fatigued, I betook myself to a small Arabian tomb, which was to serve for our night's lodging, and which appeared to me a delicious *boudoir*, till I was told, that in our former march through this place, a French soldier, who had loitered behind the column, was stabbed in this very spot: the marks of the assassination being yet visible upon the walls filled me with horror; nevertheless I lay down, slept, and so weary was I, that I could even have reposed on the very carcass of that ill-fated victim.

We departed on the morrow before day-light. At day-break I found myself sufficiently near Guedime to see the ruin there, consisting of four columns, still surmounted by three massy stones of the entablature, in front of which are visible the foundations of two buttresses, at present a shapeless mass of fragments. These are the only remnants of a monument, whose chief merit at present is to serve as a fixed point from which to compute the vast extent of the Theban monuments. At noon we reached Kous, where we were informed that the troops sent against us from Mecca had been routed by all our detachments, and intercepted at Tata by our cavalry, who, to secure the tranquillity of the country, had put them all to the sword.

We rested a few days at Kous, where I contemplated a gate, the only remnant that is left of the ancient Apollinopolis Pärva. This

which the Turks excused by reminding them of the horrible death of the prisoners at Jaffa. This new disaster,

single fragment appears larger than all the rest of the town, and offers a striking picture of the duration that characterises the Egyptian architecture. The other parts of the edifice are doubtless buried under the mountain of rubbish that is occupied by the modern town. The inscription itself was posterior to the monument, and afforded a curious example of skilful flattery in a prefect of Upper Egypt, at the time of the Ptolemies, who, on account of some repairs, twenty or thirty centuries after the first building of the temple, ventured to dedicate it to his masters, to inscribe the gate with their names, and thus transmit them to posterity:

I found in the fields near the lower part of the town, a fragment of a tabernacle, or single-stone temple, which, after having been broken, had served for the drinking-trough to a cistern; one of its window-frames, still remaining entire, bore an hieroglyphical inscription, admirably executed, and in a perfect state of preservation. Such a fragment as this is of itself a monument of the culture and intelligence of the nation to which it formerly belonged.

We left Kous, and arrived at Kench, where we found a number of merchants of all nations, and among them one who had often been to Darfur, where the caravans arrive from Tombuctoo, who gave me the following itinerary of the route from Siut to Darfur and Sennaar, by Dongola:—From Siut by the desert, in a south-westerly direction, four days are required to reach Korg-Eluah, the most populous and best cultivated of the oases, there is found a stream of fresh water, which, rising out of the ground, is, after a short course, lost in it again: there is a fortress, and a large village.

‘From Korg-Eluah to Bulague, another oasis, half a day’s journey: there is a small village, and well tasted water, which, however, is apt to disagree with those who are not accustomed to it.

‘From Bulague to El-Bsactah, one day: brackish water.

‘From El-Bsactah to Beris, half a day’s journey. There you find a large village, and tolerably good water.

‘From Beris to El-Mekh, two hours. There it is necessary to lay in a stock of water, for the oases cease at El-Mekh, and nothing but salt or brackish water is to be met with for several days. Travelling from this place in the same direction as at first, after six days, you reach Desir.

‘From Desir to Selima, three days: salt water, but not quite undrinkable.

‘From Selima to Dongola, where you again meet with the Nile, four days. Here a fresh supply of water and provisions must be laid in.

‘From Dongola, bearing away more to the west for four days, you arrive at El-Goyah.

‘From El-Goyah to Zagaoneh, six days: brackish water.

‘From Zagaoneh to Darfur, ten days: without meeting with either village or water.

‘The other route from Dongola to Darfur requires seventeen days

however, produced by an unforeseen circumstance, did not change any of the dispositions of the commanders of the two armies.

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march in a southerly direction to Sennaar, and thence to Darfur twelve days travelling due west.

'It is above all essential in such a journey, to be sufficiently well mounted, to keep up with the caravan, as this stops for no one, and he who goes slower than the rest is necessarily left behind.'

Beneadi, a town two miles long, and containing twelve thousand inhabitants, always rebellious against every government, from its situation on the verge of the desert, had called in the Arabs; a caravan from Darfur had also just arrived. Murad-Bey, profiting by this concurrence, had found means to excite the whole to arms, when General Davoust was despatched with cavalry to Beneadi: common tranquillity required the destruction of a volcano that was incessantly threatening us: the troops animated with the hope of plunder, in an instant swept away the whole village; those of the inhabitants that escaped joined the remnant of the Meccans, marched against Miniet, and were put to the sword in a second encounter.

While at Keneh, I had to regret the death of a crocodile, which some peasants having surprised asleep, had bound and brought alive to the officer who commanded during the absence of General Beliard; the animal being yet young, and fettered by an iron circle between the shoulders and belly, could not be very formidable: we might have observed and become acquainted with its habits, which are unknown even in its native country, so much is it an object of terror! It would have been curious to see its manner of eating, to ascertain what kind of food it lives on, whether mastication is necessary to it, and if so, how it is effected in an animal possessed only of cutting teeth; how its throat supplies the place of a tongue, and whether advantage might be taken of its voracity to render it tame. It might, perhaps, have been brought alive to France, and submitted to the examination of the naturalists and the curiosity of the Parisians. In my wanderings on the banks of this river I have seen a great number of all sizes, from three to twenty-six or twenty-eight feet in length: many officers worthy of credit assured me that they met with one no less than forty feet long. They are by no means so ferocious as is pretended: their favourite resorts are the low islands of the river, where they are seen basking in the sun (the most intense heat of which appears highly grateful to them) by numbers at a time, asleep and motionless like so many logs of wood, surrounded by birds, who appear totally unmindful of them.

From the window of my apartment at Keneh, I saw the ruins of Tentyra, two leagues off, on the other side of the Nile; those ruins, the recollection of which inspired me with so much interest, mixed at the same time with regret, at not having had an opportunity to make a leisure survey of a zodiac, which clearly proves the deep knowledge of the ancient Egyptians in astronomy.

From Dendera to the ruins of Tentyra is only twenty minutes ride:

Sir Sidney Smith, having considered the terms required by Kleber, replied (Jan. 1st, 1800), by sending

this latter place from its ancient monuments, is called by the Arabs, Berbeh. We arrived at the town in the evening, and the next morning, with a guard of thirty men, I went to the ruins, and took possession of them in the fulness of repose and quiet. I was delighted to find that my enthusiastic admiration of the great temple was not an illusion produced by the novelty of its appearance, since after having seen all the other Egyptian monuments, this still appeared the most perfect in its execution, and constructed at the happiest period of the arts and sciences: every thing in it is laboured, interesting, and important. It would be necessary to draw the whole in its most minute detail, to possess ourselves of all that is worth carrying away: nothing has been made without some end in view, without contributing in a greater or lesser degree to the perfection and harmony of the whole. As my time here was very limited, I began with what had been the principal object of my journey hither, the celestial planisphere, which occupies part of the ceiling of a little apartment, built over the nave of the great temple. I also copied the rest of the ceiling, which is divided into two equal parts, by a large figure, seemingly an Isis; her feet rest upon the earth, her arms are extended towards heaven, and she appears to occupy all the space between. In another part of the ceiling is a figure, probably representing heaven or the year, with its hands and feet on the same level, and enfolding with the curvature of the body fourteen globes, placed on as many boats, distributed over seven bands or zones, separated from each other by numberless hieroglyphics, but almost totally covered with stalactites and smoke.

Behind this first chamber is a second, which receives light only through the door; this is also covered with most interesting and admirably executed hieroglyphical delineations. It is difficult to imagine what could be the use of this little edifice, so carefully finished, and ornamented with designs so evidently scientific: those on the ceilings appear to relate to the motions of the heavenly bodies, and those on the walls have probably some reference to the earth, and the influences of the air and water. The earth is universally represented by the figure of Isis, who was the presiding divinity in all the temples of Tentyra, and whose emblem or figure is found in every part; her head is seen forming the capital of the columns belonging to the portico, and the first chamber of the great temple: it is also in the centre of the astragal, and sculptured in gigantic proportions, on the outside of the foundation wall: it is the distinguishing object in the ornaments of the frieze and the cornice, and is conspicuous in all the pictures with her proper attributes. It is Isis to whom the offerings are made, when presented by herself to her husband Osiris: her figure is inscribed on the outer gates of the enclosure, and to her are dedicated the little temples that are there represented. In that on the right hand of the entrance, she is triumphing over two evil genii behind the great temple; she is variously described as holding Horus in her arms, defending him from every hostile attempt, and

him, as a proof of his sincere desire to do all that depended on himself, the copy of the treaty of the 5th of January.

trusting him only to figures like cows, and suckling him at every age, from infancy to puberty.

I employed much time in measuring the capitals and columns, in making plans and elevations, and taking views of the gates. There are now neither doors nor even hinges to these gates, which formerly secluded from profane eyes those mysteries of which the priests were so jealous, and also, perhaps, concealed the treasures of the state. The chambers consecrated to eternal night, the mysteriousness of the worship, obscure as the temples themselves, the secret initiations, so difficult to be obtained, and for ever shut against strangers, and the sudden overthrow both of the government and religion, as soon as Cambyzes had violated the sanctuaries, overthrown the divinities, and carried away the treasures, all combine to prove that, within these temples was contained the essence of all, and that hence emanated the civil and religious authority of the state.

Just before setting off, I took a general view of the site of Tentyra, and the group of monuments that overlook the town, with the mountains rising in the distance. I also copied an inscription in beautiful large Greek characters, placed like that at Kous, on the lintels to the right and left of the top of one of the outer gates, to the south of the great temple. The following, according to the literati whom I have consulted, is the translation of the inscription:

"On account of the emperor Cæsar, the Divine, the son of Jupiter, the Deliverer, when Publius Octavius being governor, Marcus Claudius Postumus, commander-in-chief, and Tryphon, general, the deputies of the metropolis consecrated, in virtue of the law, the propyleum to Isis, the greatest of the goddesses, and to the associated gods of the temple, in the thirty-first year of Cæsar, on the sacred day of Thoth."

Some days after my return from Tentyra, the cavalry was sent to protect a military chest, which was to be conveyed from Esneh to Keneh. I took advantage of this escort to visit Keft, or Copthos, so celebrated by the calamities which it underwent in the time of the persecutions by Dioclesian. I was struck on entering the town with the good preservation of its different monuments; the ancient part still remains in the state in which it was left by the conflagration which terminated the long siege that destroyed it in the third century; the old limits of the city have been abandoned, and to this has succeeded an Arab town, with a boundary wall of unbaked bricks, beyond which, verging to the west, was built the village of Keft, which still exists. Was Copthos the ancient name of this town? And did the ancient Copts take their name from that of Copthos, where zeal collected their numbers, and made them sustain so obstinate and disastrous a siege in the time of Dioclesian? One may evidently distinguish the different ruins of two temples of high antiquity, and those of a catholic church, in which taste and art in the construction were certainly less remarkable than the magnificence and richness of the materials employed; the fragments of porphyry and granite columns and pilasters, scattered over a vast space of ground, remain to attest the opulence and luxury of the first believers; but the sculp-

He requested him to remark the freedom with which he had acted in this affair, and by reading the treaty con-

ture on the doric friezes, some fragments of which are still visible, show that at this period the efforts at embellishment, which art could command, only impoverished the sumptuous magnificence of the materials. All these monuments lie without form and order on the ground, excepting a few portions still left standing.

I had often heard speak of the *kamsin*, which may be termed the hurricane of Egypt and the desert; it is equally terrible by the frightful spectacle which it exhibits when present, and by the consequences which follow its ravages. We had passed one half of the season in which it appears, when, on the evening of the 18th of May, I felt entirely overcome by a suffocating heat; as if the fluctuation of the air was suddenly suspended. I went out to bathe, in order to overcome so painful a sensation, when I was struck, on my arrival at the bank of the Nile, with a new appearance of nature around me. The sun without being concealed, had lost its rays: it had even less lustre to the eye than the moon, and gave a pale light without shade; the water no longer reflected its rays, but appeared in agitation; every thing had changed its usual aspect; the flat shore seemed luminous, and the air dull and opaque; the yellow horizon showed the trees on its surface of a dirty blue: flocks of birds were flying before the cloud; the frightened animals ran loose in the country, followed by the shouting inhabitants, who vainly attempted to collect them together; the wind, which had raised this immense mass of vapour, and was urging it forward, had not yet reached us; we thought that by plunging our bodies into the water, which was then calm, we could prevent the baneful effects of this mass of dust, which was advancing from the south-west; but we had hardly entered the river when it began to swell, as if overflowing its channel, the waves passed over our heads, and we felt the bottom heave up under our feet; our clothes were conveyed away along with the shore itself, which seemed to be carried off by the whirlwind which had now reached us; we were compelled to leave the water, and our wet and naked bodies, being assailed by a storm of sand, were soon encrusted with black mud, which prevented our dressing; enlightened only by a red and gloomy sun, with our eyes smarting, our noses stuffed up, and our throats clogged with dust, so that we could hardly breathe, we lost each other, and arrived at our lodgings one by one, groping our way, and guided only by the walls. We could now easily conceive the dreadful situation of those who are surprised by such a phenomenon, when crossing the naked deserts; and being accustomed to the serene sky of Egypt, we could hardly bear with patience such a sudden transition.

Two days after, we were told that the plain was covered with birds, passing on from east to west, like the close files of an army; and we saw the fields appear to move, like a broad torrent flowing through the country. Thinking they might be some foreign birds we hastened out to meet them; but instead of birds we beheld a cloud of locusts, which skimmed the soil, stopping at each blade of grass to devour it, and then flying off to new food.

cluded between England and Turkey, to judge of the ties which restrained him from acquiescing with the last

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We left Keneh the 26th of May, at ten in the morning, and arrived at four in the afternoon at Birambarr or Biralbarr (*the Well of Wells*) a village on the edge of the desert, about as high up as Copthos, and opposite to the defile which leads to Kittah, a fountain, of which I have spoken above, as the radiating centre of all the different roads that lead to Cosseir.

In quitting Biralbarr we turned to the east, entering a long wide valley, forming an extensive plain, and at day-break arrived at the Kittah, a singular fountain, situated on a higher level than all the surrounding ground; it consists of three wells six feet in depth, and there is here a small mosque, or caravansary, which serves for shelter to travellers when they are not very numerous.

In proportion as we descended, the mountains diminished in height. We stopped to sleep some hours, after having marched eighteen. At day-break we found the valley much enlarged, and soon arrived at the fountain Ambagi, where we saw seven or eight palm-trees, forming the only grove that is to be seen for fifty leagues around.

I perceived by the lightness of the air that we were approaching the sea; and soon saw the waves breaking on the reefs which line the shore. A mist on the horizon pointed out to us the Asiatic coast, which, however, was too far to be at all discernible. The Ababdes Arabs, who had preceded us, had gone on before to give notice of our arrival to the inhabitants of Cosseir, and we saw them return with the shieks of the town and their followers, driving before them a flock of sheep, the first offering of peace and homage. I had formed such an idea of a pitiful town and ruined castle in Cosseir, that when I came to them, I thought the former almost splendid, and the castle, a fort. The port and road of Cosseir is formed by reefs, which defend it from the north-north-west winds, and a headland that protects it from the south-south-east. The Arab houses are composed of a few pieces of wood that support some miserable mats, under which the inhabitants live on shell-fish, and form all their household utensils of the shells; and even work them into boxes, which are not without elegance. It would have been interesting to have reconnoitred the road of Berenice, which was made at a vast expense by the Ptolemies, forty leagues to the south, and afterwards abandoned for that of Cosseir, which, however, will only hold a small number of merchant-ships of inferior size, as the depth of water is only two fathoms, and two and a half where it is deepest.

The coast all about Cosseir is frightfully poor and barren, but the sea is rich in fish, shells, and corals; the latter are so numerous, that it might have been here that the whole sea acquired the name of *Red*, whilst the sand on the shore is so white. The reefs are only coral and madrepores, as well as all the rocks which lie in these seas, to within half a league of the shore.

Our return was still more rapid than our journey out. We retraced our march in two days and a half; but, for the last half day we were quite overcome by fatigue and drought, and I could only quench my thirst by eating largely of melons, and plunging into the Nile.

propositions of Kleber, which he was certain would not be approved. He added, that the Venetian islands were

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*Hours of March of our loaded Camels from Kench on the Nile to Cosseir.*

	h.	min.
From Kench to Byr-al-Barr .....	3	50
To the halt for the night in the desert .....	4	45
To Kittah .....	3	30
To the night-halt .....	4	30
To the first fountain .....	9	35
To the second, called El-ad-Houte .....	0	45
To the night-halt .....	4	30
To the fountain of Ambagi .....	8	45
To Cosseir .....	1	45
Total	41	55

We made an expedition to Sahmateh and Abumanah, frontier places of the government of the Thebaid, to settle with the inhabitants for the necessary labours of dykes and canals. Our General was received like the governor of a province; the kaimakan, or general of the armed inhabitants, who was a rich man, had prepared for us, one of his estates, a large court, well watered, which in some degree quelled the burning heat of the season. In the evening he gave a supper to ourselves, the sheiks of the province, the detachment which accompanied us, as well as the numerous servants who had constituted themselves part of our suite.

M. Gerard, and eight members of the committee of arts, being about to proceed up the Nile, to make a chart of its course, offered me an opportunity of renewing my travels, and in this journey it was that I made a drawing of the zodiac, which is on the ceiling of the portico at Tentyra; that I enriched my collection with these new proofs of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy, with a number of drawings and hieroglyphical inscriptions, which, compared, examined, and discussed in the tranquillity of the closet, ought to reveal their mysteries, or convince us that they are not to be found out. I procured also many facts relative to the state of the fine arts in particular, by a discovery of the proportions traced upon a human figure with red chalk, and afterwards covered by a thin stucco, a method, no doubt, adopted by the Egyptians to give a finer finish to their bas-reliefs, and render their paintings indestructible. I made an outline drawing of the bas-relief and the lines, by which the figure was divided into proportions; hence we may infer the principles which they had adopted, their mode of applying them, and, in short, their method of proceeding, which, to the advantage of preventing at once all errors, all unharmonious combinations, and ignoble proportions, unites that of attaining the constant equality observable in their works; an equality which, if it is detrimental to the sallies of genius and the expression of delicate sentiment, tends at



not solely in the power of the Ottoman troops; that Malta was besieged conjointly by the English and Nea-

least to the perfection of uniformity, converts drawing into a mechanical art, and reduces sculpture to an accessory proper for the decoration and enriching of architecture, to a method of expressing ideas, in short, to writing. It is worthy of remark that, according to the Egyptians the human figure was divided into twenty-two parts and a half, of which the head took up two and two-thirds, or the eighth of the whole, corresponding in this respect with the heroic style among the Greeks.

I observed also among the bas-reliefs a little votive temple, with a pediment, which is never used in Egyptian architecture; a small figure holding a rabbit shows that in merely ornamental works the Egyptian artists could occasionally deviate from their usual severity; a statue modelled from this very figure would be a Greek fawn.

On the 26th of June the Nile began to rise, and on this and the two following days had attained the height of three inches, it then increased at the rate of two inches a day, and afterwards at three inches; the water now filled the banks, ceased to be green, without, however, becoming muddy. It was proposed to make a tour, in order to examine the canals and the intended improvements.

The heat was extreme on the first of July, two soldiers fainted while we were leaving Keneh, and on the next morning fifteen others were obliged to be left behind.

We rested one day at Kous, and on the third arrived by sunrise at Karnac. Among the new discoveries which I made while traversing the ruins of the temple, may be mentioned a figure that I perceived on the outer walls of the small buildings by the side of the sanctuary: the figure represents a person making an offering of two obelisks. I saw also delineated the gate of a temple, with two folding doors, shut by exactly the same kind of wooden bolts that are at present made use of.

To the several descriptions that I have already given of this gigantic monument, I may add, that on the south side of the first court there is a particular edifice comprised within the general circumvallation, consisting of a boundary wall and a gate, opening into a court surrounded with a pilastered gallery, in front of which are figures with their arms crossed, and holding in one hand a scourge and in the other a kind of hook; there are besides two lateral galleries, five anti-chambers on the basement, with five chambers behind them, the whole terminated by another gallery abutting on the side courts of the large temple. This was, perhaps, the palace, or rather the splendid prison of the kings, and the idea is rendered probable by the sculptured figures on the side of the gate, representing heroes holding by the hair conquered prisoners, and presented by the divinities with new arms for future victories. Would not this be consonant to what Herodotus informs us of the regulations concerning the kings, of the obligation that they were under to be served, advised, and always accompanied by priests, obliged every morning to hear a lecture on

politans; that the cession and guarantee of that island was not at the disposition of the Sublime Porte; that

their duties, and then to offer in the temple the homage of their authority to the Divinity, and acknowledge that they held it of him, and could only preserve it by his assistance?

At Luxor, where we dined, the people brought to the General a little crocodile, only five inches long; the inbred terror with which this animal inspires the Egyptians had induced the man who found it to kill it, notwithstanding its inability at so tender an age to do any injury; but fear is revengeful, so that we again lost an opportunity of observing the manners of this inhabitant of the Nile.

We proceeded on the morrow to Salamieh, and arrived in good time the next day at Esneh. General Beliard wished to extend his researches still higher, and I was unwilling to part with him; besides, I had still to take a side view of the temple at Apollinopolis, whither I resolved to go, notwithstanding the fatigue of such a journey at this sultry season.

While following the course of a canal between Bassalier El-Moëcat, our notice was drawn by a hillock of bricks, called Com-El-Achmart; at the southern extremity of this we discovered the foundation of an Egyptian temple, and a few courses of the basement of a portico, the whole covered with hieroglyphics. This unknown ruin had hitherto escaped geographers and travellers, both ancient and modern. Are not these, probably, the remains of Silsilis?—a town whose name has been transferred to the neighbouring quarries.

I was now, for the third time, at Etfu, and its temple appeared more magnificent than ever. I discovered a way through the ruins into one of the interior chambers, which appeared to be the second behind the portico, and immediately preceding the sanctuary; all that the heaps of ruins allowed me to see was the sculpture, being highly finished in excellently good taste: the freestone of which the building was constructed being finer than any other that I had inspected, all the work engraven upon it had retained its original boldness and delicacy, as if the material had been marble.

On returning from Esneh, I went to visit the temple which is in the plain to the right of the road to Harment; the moving sands, or a defect in the foundation have caused partial sinkings, by which several of the columns are thrown out of a perpendicular, and the ceiling of the portico is much damaged.

The parts beyond the portico are trivial and display little decoration. The sanctuary is totally destroyed; but from what remains of the outer wall, there seems to have been an exterior gallery quite round the temple. Some of the rubbish has lately been removed by Assan-Bey, and this has discovered some underground buildings, which show that the temple formerly extended beyond the portico: the remains of this last consist of eight columns, with broad capitals, differing from each other in the ornaments that they bear; in the one it is the vine, in another the ivy, in a third the palm-leaf. Some enormous and very well made bricks announce that the edifices which surrounded the temple had been carefully constructed.

the triple alliance being only defensive; its dissolution was not necessary; that it was impossible to consent to

Could it have been Aphroditopolis, which Strabo places hereabouts, though, in my opinion, too near to Latopolis, the modern Esneh? Probably not; for the fragments that remain have so little extent, that they were to all appearance merely dependencies of one large building. Nor is there any reason to suppose that there are any adjoining temples buried in the sand, for the ground is here quite level, very hard, and constantly swept by the wind: besides, nothing is easier than to recognise spots that have formerly been the seat of a numerous population. We may therefore suppose that there were monasteries, sanctuaries, and detached chapels near the Egyptian towns, as there are in the catholic countries of Europe, madonnas, saints, and miraculous grottoes, where religious zeal was enlivened by silence and mystery. The small temple near Chnubis, and another on the right bank of the river, opposite Esneh, are other examples of the existence of these kinds of religious edifices; the hieroglyphics which cover the outer walls, and the inside of the portico of this unknown ruin, are in an ordinary style, and of indifferent execution: a few astronomical figures are observable on the ceiling of the portico, coarsely executed, but which serve to show that the exterior of these temples was devoted to astronomy, to the history of the heavens and the seasons, and of those epochs formed by the revolution of the stars.

On the 9th of July, at day-break, we departed: our road lay by the side of Asfun, two leagues and a half from Esneh; this village is built on vast heaps of rubbish, among which it appears more natural to look for the ruins of Aphroditopolis, Asphinis, or Asphunis, than among those of the temple just described. What Strabo says of this town agrees better with its distance from Latopolis, and the resemblance of the name Asfun to Asphunis inclines me to indulge this opinion. Sofinis, indeed, half a league further on, has also eminences, though less considerable; but as neither village is possessed of any monuments above ground, we must wait for some excavations to be made, before it can be decided to which belongs the honour of having been the city of Venus.

We were approaching Thebes, and I was this time to visit the tombs of the kings. I galloped before the party, to take a view of the ruined temples of Medinet-Abu, where I had settled to rejoin the troop. I arrived here an hour before the rest, and employed myself in taking a view of the temple which adjoins the village: to the right is a square monument that probably was a palace contiguous to the temple, very small indeed, but of which the neighbouring porticos might serve as prolongations, in a climate where open galleries and terraces answer the purposes of apartments. I saw a small palace, the character of which is entirely different from that of the other edifices; both in its plan, and a sort of balconies supported by four heads in the attitudes of caryatides. These sculptures, as well as those in that part of the temple of Karnac, which I suspect to have been a palace, represent the figures of kings menacing groups of prostrate captives.

the transporting of the French army to any point from whence there was a possibility of its attacking other

Keeping still before the troop, I hastened to the two colossal statues, and took a view of them with the effect of the sun-rise, at the same hour as strangers used to resort thither to hear the musical sounds from the colossus of Memnon. I then proceeded to the solitary place called the Memnonium. We passed through the village of Kurnu, the ancient Necropolis, and, in approaching those subterranean habitations, we were for the third time saluted by the incorrigible inhabitants with a volley of musquetry. This was the only place in Upper Egypt which held out against our government. Strong in their sepulchral retreats, they came out like spectres, fortified in their disobedience by the obscurity of these excavations, which are so numerous, as of themselves to attest the immense population of ancient Thebes. It was across these humbler tombs that the kings were carried two leagues from the palace, into the silent valley that was to become their lasting abode. It was not till after marching three quarters of an hour in this desert valley, that in the midst of the rocks we observed, some openings paralld to the ground: these at first displayed no other architectural ornaments than a door in a simple square frame, with a flattened oval in the centre of the upper part, in which are inscribed in hieroglyphics a beetle, the figure of a man with a hawk's head, and beyond the circle two figures on their knees in the act of adoration. As soon as the threshold of the first gate is passed, you discover long galleries twelve feet wide and twenty in height, cased with stucco, sculptured and painted; the arches, of an elegant elliptical figure, are covered with innumerable hieroglyphics, disposed with so much taste, that notwithstanding the singular grotesque forms, and a total absence of demi-tint, or aerial perspective, the ceilings form an agreeable whole, and a rich and harmonious association of colours. I had merely time to pass on from one tomb to another: at the end of the galleries were the sarcophagi unconnected with each other, composed of a single block of granite, twelve feet long by eight in breadth, ornamented with hieroglyphics both within and without; at one end they were rounded, and at the other squared. The tombs were covered by a lid of the same material, and of an enormous mass, shutting with a groove; but neither that precaution, nor the vast blocks of stone, brought from such a distance and at so great an expense, have been able to preserve the relics of the sovereigns from the attempts of avarice; all the tombs have been violated: on the lid of the first sarcophagus that we met with, the figure of the king, or of some protecting divinity, is sculptured; but so worn, that it is impossible to distinguish by the dress whether it is a king, a priest, or a divinity. In other tombs the sepulchral chamber is surrounded by a pilastered portico, whose galleries, bordered with recesses supported in the same manner, and lateral chambers hollowed into the rock, are covered with a white and fine stucco, on which are hieroglyphics in a wonderful state of preservation; for, except two of the eight tombs that I visited, which have been injured by water trickling down, all the rest are in

states ; but that its return to France, with arms and baggage, as had been promised, should be faithfully executed.

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full perfection, and the paintings as fresh as when they were first executed : the colours of the ceilings, exhibiting yellow figures on a blue ground, are designed with a taste that might decorate our most splendid saloons.

The trumpet had already sounded to horse, when I discovered some little chambers, on the walls of which were represented all kinds of arms, such as panoplies, coats of mail, tigers' skins, bows, arrows, quivers, pikes, javelins, sabres, casques, and whips : in another was a collection of household utensils, such as caskets, chests of drawers, chairs, sofas, and beds, all of exquisite forms, and such as might well grace the apartments of modern luxury ; as these were probably accurate representations of the objects themselves, it is almost a proof that the ancient Egyptians employed for their furniture Indian woods, carved and gilt, which they covered with embroidery ; besides there were represented various smaller articles, as vases, coffee-pots, ewers with their basins, a tea-pot and basket. Another chamber was consecrated to agriculture, in which were represented all its various instruments, a sledge similar to those in use at present, a man sowing grain by the side of a canal, from the borders of which the inundation is beginning to retire, a field of corn reaped with a sickle, fields of rice with men watching them. In a fourth chamber was a figure clothed in white, playing on a harp with eleven cords. How was it possible to leave such precious curiosities, without taking a drawing of them ? I earnestly demanded a quarter of an hour's grace : I was allowed twenty minutes ; one person lighted me, while another held a taper to every object that I pointed out to him. I observed many figures without heads ; I even found some with the head cut off : these all represented black men, and those who had cut the heads off, and were still holding the sword, the instrument of punishment, were coloured red. Could these be human sacrifices ? Was it the custom to immolate slaves to the tombs ; or was it the representation of an act of justice, and the punishment of the guilty ? I carefully observed every thing that I met with, and carried off with me all the fragments that were portable, making afterwards an inventory of them. I found a beautiful little patera of baked earth, a fragment worthy of the finest period of the arts, in the most civilized nations. I also found some fragments of divinities cut in sycamore-wood with uncommon elegance, and a small foot of a mummy, which does no less honour to nature, than the other fragments do to the arts. It was no doubt the foot of a young woman, a princess, a lovely creature, the perfect form of which had never been cramped by the absurdity of fashion. At length with much regret I quitted these tombs, where I had remained three hours, and could easily have found subjects to occupy me for as many days. The mystery and magnificence observable within these excavations, the number of doors by which they are protected, convince me that the religious worship which had scooped out and decorated these grottoes, was

In the meantime, the plenipotentiaries had debarked at Jaffa, and repaired to the camp of the Grand Vizir

the same as that which raised the pyramids. At length we quitted in haste these retreats, where so many interesting objects combined to detain us, in order to arrive in good time at Alicate, where nobody had any thing to do. I found on this occasion, as on all others, that a visit to Thebes was like the attack of a fever, it was a kind of crisis which left behind an impression of indescribable impatience, enthusiasm, irritation, and fatigue.

The news of the return of our army from Syria was now announced. I calculated that as Upper Egypt had been conquered and secured by us, and as Lower Egypt was about to be covered with water, and would thereby for a long time be secure from any descent, Bonaparte would find himself without any operation of great importance on his hands, and would turn his views towards Europe. I had not, however, began to look that way myself, and as Bonaparte, when he brought me with him, had promised to convey me back, the remembrance gave me some trouble and impatience.

However, General Beliard had not forgotten the shots which had been fired on us by the inhabitants of Kurnu, and the time for punishing them was now arrived. This expedition would, of course, require some residence at Thebes. I therefore returned to visit, for the seventh time; this great Diospolis, which I had always seen in such haste, that regret was mingled with the gratification which I received.

I now began my researches, accompanied by some volunteers, and examined the grottoes; they were constructed without magnificence, consisting of a regular double gallery supported by pillars, behind which was a row of chambers, often double, and tolerably regular. If we had not observed tombs, and even some remains of mummies, we might be tempted to believe that these were the dwellings of the primitive inhabitants of Egypt: or rather that, having first served for this purpose, these subterranean caves had become the abode of the dead, and had, at last, been restored by the inhabitants of Kurnu to their original destination.

In proportion as the height of these grottoes increase they become more richly decorated; and I was soon convinced by the magnificence both of the paintings and sculptures, and of the subjects which they represented, that I was among the tombs of great men or heroes. Those which are believed to belong to ancient kings (which in my last journey I went to visit three quarters of a league in the desert) are only distinguished from the others by the magnificence of the sarcophagi, and the mysterious solitude of their situation: the others immediately overlook the great buildings in the town. The sculpture in all is incomparably more laboured and higher finished than any that I had seen in the temples; it was like the work of the chisel itself, and I stood in astonishment at the high perfection of the art, and of its singular destiny, to be fixed in places devoted to silence and obscurity. In the working of these galleries beds of a very fine grained calcareous clay have occasionally been crossed; and

at El-Arish, in order to avoid the delays which frequently occur in relations with the Turks, and Kleber perceiving

here the lines of the hieroglyphics have been cut with a firmness of touch, and a precision, of which marble offers but few examples; the figures have an elegance and correctness of contour, of which I never thought Egyptian sculpture susceptible. Here too I could judge of the style of this people, in subjects which were neither hieroglyphic, historical, nor scientific, for these were representations of small scenes taken from nature, in which the stiff profile outlines, so common with the Egyptian artists, were exchanged for supple and natural attitudes; groups of persons were given in perspective, and cut in deeper relief than I should have supposed any thing but metal could have been worked. I thought it necessary to bring back with me some fragments of these bas-reliefs, as a specimen to others of what created in me so much surprise. One cannot help being struck with the little analogy which the greater number of these subjects has with the spot wherein they are immured; it requires the presence of mummies to persuade one's self that these excavations are tombs: I have found here bas-reliefs representing games, such as rope-dancing; and asses taught to play tricks and to rear on their hind-legs, which are sculptured with all the nature and simplicity which Bassan has shown in representing the same animals on canvas.

The plan of these excavations is not less singular; there are some which are so vast and complicated, that one would take them for labyrinths or subterranean temples. Some of the same people, with whom we had just been at war, served me as guides, and the clink of money, that universal language, before which all hatred ceases, especially among the Arabs, had procured me friends with the fugitive inhabitants of Kurnu. Some of these had come to me privately when I was at a distance from our camp, and attended me with great fidelity; we penetrated together these subterranean labyrinths, which indeed resembled, by their mysterious passages and windings, the temples constructed for the trials of the initiated. After passing the apartments, adorned in the elegant style that I have just described, we entered long and gloomy galleries, which wind backwards and forwards in numerous angles, and seem to occupy a great extent of ground; they are melancholy, repulsive, and without any decoration; but from time to time open into other chambers covered with hieroglyphics, and branch out into narrow paths that lead to deep perpendicular pits, which we descended by resting our arms against the sides, and fixing our feet into steps that are cut in the rock. At the bottom of these pits we found other adorned chambers, and lower still, a new series of perpendicular pits and horizontal chambers, and at last, ascending a long flight of steps, we arrived at an open place which we found to be on a level with the chambers we had first entered.

It would have required several days to form an idea of the distribution of these subterranean works, and to take plans of such intricate labyrinths: if the magnificence displayed in the houses of the living was at all equal to that of these ultimate habitations, as we have some

that he could not obtain more favourable terms, authorised General Desaix to agree to the definitive arrange-

reason to suppose, from the sumptuous pieces of furniture painted in the tombs of the kings, how much must we regret that no vestige of them remains! What can have become of palaces that contained such opulence! how can they have disappeared! they cannot be buried under the mud of the Nile, since the quay which is before Luxor shows, that the elevation which the soil has undergone is very considerable. Were they built of unbaked and therefore perishable earth! or did the great men, as well as the priests, inhabit the temples, and the people only huts!

The next day I was conducted to new tombs and galleries, which were less winding, and would serve as very agreeable habitations from their situation, which enjoys day-light, pure and healthful air, and a fine prospect: these were not different from the others in any point of decoration, they had similar ornaments and paintings.

The figures of the gods are here carried by priests upon litters, with banners waving over their heads, and followed by personages bearing golden vases of several forms, calumets, arms, loaves of bread, victuals of different kinds, and coffers of various constructions.

I could not distinguish in this procession which was the corpse; perhaps it was enclosed in some sarcophagus, and surmounted by the figures of the gods; the women marched in order, playing on musical instruments; one group of this kind was formed of three singers accompanying each other, one with the harp, another with a kind of guitar, and the third probably with some wind instrument; but here the figure was too much injured to enable us to determine what it might be.

Beyond these subterranean caves is a monument built of unbaked bricks, the lines of which have something elegant in them. The slope of the walls and the capitals resemble the Egyptian style, but some of the outer ornaments, and the arches in the surbase, convince one that this is an Arab monument: it is considerable in size, and, from its situation, commands the whole territory of Thebes.

Several fragments of mummies were brought me: I promised an unlimited reward to any person who should procure me one whole and untouched; but the cupidity of the Arabs deprived me of this satisfaction; for they sell at Cairo the resin which they find in the bellies and skulls of these mummies, and there is no preventing them from committing this violence; added to which, the fear of selling one that might contain some treasures (though they have never found any among these antiquities) makes them always break the outer wooden covering, and tear that of painted cloth, which wraps round the whole body, wherever much pains had been taken in the embalming. The reader may judge how delightful this day was to me in which I discovered so many new objects of curiosity.

The third day I went to Medinet-Abu, and revisited this vast edifice with new admiration. In a portico, I had time to observe, that the sculptures on the inner wall represented the exploits and the triumph of some hero, perhaps Sesostris, who had carried his arms into foreign



ment proper for the evacuation. I have already indicated the motives that determined Kleber to enter into this

countries, and obtained victories in India, as all these bas-reliefs seem to point out. Here I remarked the figure of a hero alone pursuing a whole army, which is flying from before him, and, to escape from his blows, throwing itself into some river, perhaps the Indus. This hero, who is mounted on a small chariot, in which there is only room for himself, drives two horses, holding the reins on a level with his girdle: bucklers and heaps of arms are hung about him, and around his car; his stature is gigantic, and he holds an immense bow, from which he is shooting arrows upon bearded and long-haired enemies, who have not the least resemblance with the known forms of Egyptian heads. Further on, he is represented sitting on the back of his car, the horses of which are held by pages, and one person is counting out before him the hands cut off from the enemy killed in battle, whilst another is inscribing the number, and a third appears to be proclaiming the sum. Some travellers have seen a second heap of mutilations of another kind, which show, that the hero has not been fighting against Amazons: but the figure of these mutilations did not strike me, and I have accordingly not represented them. Prisoners are also brought to him, confined in different ways; they are all clothed with flowing and striped robes, their hair is long and matted, and tables of hieroglyphics follow, fifty feet in diameter, which doubtless explain the meaning of the figures that precede them. Returning to the left by another side of these galleries, a long bas-relief is seen, that represents, in two lines, a triumphal march: it is probably the same hero returning from his conquests; some soldiers covered with armour prove that the triumph is military, though a little further on nothing is to be seen but priests, or persons of the class of the initiated, without arms, and with long and transparent tunics: the arms of the hero are covered with these garments; he is borne on the shoulders of men on a palanquin, with all the attendants of a divinity; before and behind him march priests, bearing palm-branches and calumets, and incense is presented to him. He arrives in this state at the temple of the tutelar deity of Thebes, whom I have already described, and offers to the god a sacrifice, in which he officiates as priest; the march continues, and the god is borne by twenty-four priests; the bull Apis, with the attributes of divinity, marches before the hero, and a long train of personages follow, holding each a banner, on the greater number of which are the representations of different deities. When arrived at the altar, a child appears with his hands tied behind his back, who is about to be immolated before the conqueror, who has stopped to receive this horrible sacrifice, or to assist at this execrable holocaust: beside them stands a priest, who is breaking the stem of a flower, and birds who are flying away, emblems of the separation of the soul from the body. The account which Longus and Apuleius, in their romances of Theagenes and the Golden Ass, have transmitted to us of human sacrifices among the Egyptians, is therefore not a fable, and these polished people still retain some resemblance to barbarians. Next, the hero himself makes a sacrifice to the god Apis,

treaty; notwithstanding which, the following observations are well worthy remark.

of a sheaf of wheat; a protecting genius accompanies him throughout; he changes his dress in the different parts of the ceremony, which perhaps marks his various dignities or degrees of initiation, but the same physiognomy is constantly preserved, which shows, that it is a portrait; his air is noble, august, and mild. In one picture he is holding nine persons, confined by the same chain. Are these the passions personified? or, do they represent nine conquered nations? Incense is offered to him in honour of these victories: a priest writes his annals, and consigns them to sacred memorial.

It is therefore proved, that the ancient Egyptians had written books; the famous *Toth* was then a book, and not inscribed tablets sculptured on walls, as has been often supposed. I could not help flattering myself, that I was the first to make so important a discovery; but I was much more delighted, when, some hours after, I was assured of the proof of my discovery, by the possession of a manuscript itself, which I found in the hand of a fine mummy, that was brought me: the reader should be a traveller, an inquirer, and an amateur, to sympathize with my rapture on this occasion. When it was delivered into my hands I felt that I turned pale with anxiety; I was going to express my indignation at those who had violated the integrity of this mummy, when I perceived in its right hand, and resting on the left arm, a roll of papyrus, on which was a manuscript, that I should perhaps have never seen without this violation. I then blessed the avarice of the Arabs, and my own good fortune, that had put me in possession of a treasure, which I hardly dared to touch for fear of injuring so sacred a manuscript, the oldest of all books in the known world. I could not venture to entrust it out of my sight, and all the cotton of my bed was devoted to wrapping it up with the utmost care. What could be its contents? Was it the history of this personage, the remarkable events of his life? was the period ascertained by the date of the sovereign under whom he lived? or did this precious roll contain maxims, prayers, or the history of some discovery? I regretted not being able to draw every thing that I had seen during the whole of this interesting day; but, however, I had ample reason to be satisfied, for what other traveller had seen so many new objects?

A few days afterwards, I joined a detachment proceeding to make a circuit round the district; and proposed to our leader to go to Medinet-Abu, opposite to which we then were. Happily for me, the officer did not calculate on the insufficiency of so weak an escort, and we went all four well satisfied to pass the day in the shade of the porticoes of Medinet. The inhabitants, who recollected me by some little gifts that I had made them, instead of resisting us by arms, brought us fresh water, bread, ripe dates, and grapes, and I had leisure to view every thing of which I had only had a glance the evening before. I took torches with me, which gave me an opportunity of penetrating into the darkest places. I there found three small chambers covered with bas-reliefs, which had always been

The Ottoman army amounted to upwards of 60,000 men, of whom a great part were already before El-Arish,

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dark ; at the bottom of the third was a kind of stone-buffet, the hinges of which were still remaining, being all that was particular in this small adorned apartment, the innermost of three, and closed by doors as strong as walls, which would make one expect to find some curious treasure.

In my research I entered a hole which had been dug under the foundations of the part which appeared to me the most ancient : and yet even here, at the base of one of the principal pillars of the edifice, I discovered foundation stones, on which were sculptured numerous hieroglyphics, as finely executed as those that decorated the outer part of the building. From this circumstance, how great must we suppose the antiquity to be of edifices so decorated ? and how many preceding ages of civilization would it require to be able to erect such buildings ? How many ages, again, before these would have fallen into ruins, and served as materials for the foundation of other temples, which themselves have existed for so many centuries ! The annals of this wonderful country are mysterious, obscure, and infinite.

At the north of these temples we found the ruins of two figures of granite, overthrown and broken. They might have been about thirty-six feet in height ; their attitude was the usual one, of the right foot advanced, and the arms hanging down beside the body ; and they doubtless adorned the gate of some large edifices, the ruins of which are now buried under the soil. I then went to the two colossi, supposed to be those of Memnon. These two pieces of art have nothing which seduces the judgement ; but their proportions are faultless.

I again examined the block of granite, which lies between these two statues, and I am still more convinced that it is the ruins of the famous colossal statue of Osymandias, who, from the inscription, braved both the ravages of time and the pride of men : and that the two figures which are left standing are those of his wife and daughter.

Some of my friends from Kurnu had now joined me ; I calculated that our party who had gone to Hermontis could not return till late. We therefore again began to search the tombs, always in the hope of finding some that had not been ransacked, that I might light upon an unrifled mummy, and find out the manner in which they were laid within the tombs. After many painful and fruitless researches, we at last arrived at a hole before which were scattered numerous fragments of mummies : the opening was narrow, and we looked at each other to learn if there was any risk in going down ; my companions were curious, and we determined that one of the volunteers, with my servant, should stay without to secure our guides, and prevent them either from going away or advancing to us. We then struck a light and entered the narrow passage ; we were at first obliged to grope our way on our hands and knees, and in a minute's time one of our people cried out that he was nearly stifled ; we sent him to the door to replace the centinel, and to expedite the latter to us.

and the remainder encamped before Jaffa and Ramleh. The ships of the allies abundantly supplied those forces

taking his light; having crawled along nearly a hundred paces over a heap of dead and half decayed bodies; the vault became loftier, more spacious, and decorated with a considerable degree of care. We now found that this tomb had already been searched, and that those who had first entered it, not having torches, had used bushes to give them light, and these had set fire first to the linen and afterwards to the resin of the mummies, which had caused such a combustion as to split some of the stones, melt the gums and resins, and blacken all the sides of the cave. We could observe, however, that this vault had been intended for the burial place of two considerable persons, whose figures were sculptured in embossments, seven feet in height, holding each other by the hand. Above their heads was a bas-relief, representing two dogs in a leash; lying on the altar and kneeling, two figures had the appearance of worshipping, which makes it probable that two friends were buried here, who were unwilling to part even in death. Besides this, there were lateral chambers unornamented, and fitted with corpses that had been embalmed with more or less care; showing that though the tombs had been constructed and decorated by persons of consequence, they received not only the corpses of the founders, but of their children, friends, relations, and perhaps all the servants of their house. Several bodies swathed up, but without any coffin, were laying on the ground, and there were as many of these as could be laid in regular order. I here found the reason why so many small figures of baked earth, holding in one hand a whip, and in the other a bent staff, were constantly found near these tombs; for the religious enthusiasm of the Egyptians went so far as to lay these rows of corpses upon beds formed entirely of these little images, a handful of which I put in my pocket. From a number of bodies which were not swathed up, I could perceive that circumcision was a constant custom amongst them, that depilation was not practised amongst the women, that their hair was long and flexible, and the character of the head in a fine style. I brought away with me one of an old woman, which was as striking as that of the sybils of Michael Angelo, and, indeed, a good deal resembles them. We then descended with some inconvenience into several deep pits, where we found more mummies, and large long pods of baked earth, with covers representing human heads; they contained nothing but some kind of resin. I could have willingly taken several drawings here, but I was too much confined, we wanted air, our torches would hardly give any light, added to which it began to grow very late, and patrols had been sent out to seek for us.

During my stay at Luxor I met with some fine medals of Augustus, Adrian, and Trajan, with a crocodile on the reverse, struck in Egypt, in fine bronze, with Greek inscriptions, and a great number of medals of Constantine. I also found in the court of a private house a granite torso, of larger proportion than natural, representing the two signs of Leo and Virgo; I bought it and embarked it on board our boats.

with provisions, added to which, the Arabs from different countries had conducted nearly 15,000 camels loaded.

I returned with a few sick soldiers to Keneh, and on my arrival there found two barks ready to sail for Cairo, and only waiting for my coming on board.

Three miles lower down, on the right bank of the river, are the remains of Chemmis or Panopolis, now called Achmin: there still is to be seen, as I am informed, a building buried up to the very roof, which, no doubt, is the temple formerly dedicated to Pan, and consecrated to prostitution; a number of almehs and women of the town still subsist here, as at Metubis, if not under the special protection, yet at least acknowledged and tolerated by the government; I was told that on a particular day in every week they assembled in a mosque, near the tomb of the sheik Harridi, where mingling sacred with profane, they commit all kinds of indecencies.

We passed the night before Antipolis, which still retains a lofty portico, though much defaced, and on the tenth, at three in the afternoon, arrived at the port of Siut.

In the evening we anchored before Monfalut, and at day break found ourselves under the Mokatam, whose abrupt base is washed by the Nile: there were formerly quarries worked here, the grottoes of which still remain: they resemble those of Siut, and seem to have served as tombs to the ancient Egyptians, and as places of retreat to the first solitaires.

Beyond Malui are seen, on the right bank, near the village of Sheik-Abade, the ruins of Antinöe, built by Hadrian, in honour of his favourite Antinous, who sacrificed his own life in Egypt to save that of his sovereign.

By the side of the river appears one of the city gates, resembling a triumphal arch. It is decorated with eight Corinthian pillars, between which are three arches springing from a buttress, ornamented with pilasters: this group of ruins is the most considerable of all that now remains of Antinöe. From this point there seems to have been a street passing in a straight line across the town to the opposite gate: both sides of this street appear to have been adorned with a colonnade of Doric pillars, under which one might walk in the shade. The circuit of Antinöe was very great, if the ruins of Besa, by being mingled with its own, have not increased its extent.

At day-break we found ourselves before the monastery of the Chain, situated on a peak of the Mokatam Mountains. The monks who inhabit it swim into the stream to request alms of the boats that pass by. Besides being exposed alternately to the inclemency of three elements, they are in a manner destitute of the fourth; an immense desert cuts them off from all cultivation; they are burnt up by the rays of a vertical sun unremittingly darted on their dry and barren rocks; and it is with difficulty, and by swimming, that they can obtain a few occasional alms. It is called the *Monastery of the Chain*, because they can only procure supplies of water and other necessities, by means of a long chain attached to a windlass which they let down to the river.

The passage of the desert was no longer opposed but by the resistance which we were able to offer on that point.

We spent the night near Abu-Siefen, a Coptic monastery, the first position beyond Cairo, where our troops were lodged, and fortified themselves after the battle of the pyramids.

I again passed by the pyramids of Saccata, before that immense number of monuments which decorated the field of death, the Necropolis of Memphis, and bounded that city on the south, as the pyramids of Gizeh did on the north. We might still be seeking in vain the site of that superb city, which succeeded in metropolitan dignity to Thebes, and even eclipsed its grandeur, if these sumptuous tombs did not attest its existence, and ascertain indubitably the extent of ground it occupied.

At day-break we found ourselves between Alter-Anabi and Gisa, opposite Roda, with Cairo and Bular on our right, forming a rich combination of verdure, finely contrasted with the bare and wild appearance of the two ridges that terminate the horizon.

As I was the first member of the Institute who had arrived from Upper Egypt, my associates surrounded and overwhelmed me with questions; my first pleasure was to find myself thus the object of their eager curiosity, and to profit by the observations they made.

Bonaparte on his return to Cairo, examined my journal most attentively; and satisfied that the object of my mission had been accomplished, invited me to go to Alexandria, and carry thither the trophies of Aboukir. General Berthier, whose kindness I had experienced on all occasions, allowed me the company and assistance of my nephew on my return in the same handsome manner as Dufalga had resigned him to me when first entering upon the expedition: it was only a few days since I had quitted Thebes, and I seemed already within sight of Paris, as my departure was fixed for the morrow. Still, however, a feeling which I know not how to describe, made me regret my departure from Cairo, a town which I had inhabited only at short intervals, and which I never had quitted without pain. I now found how naturally and imperceptibly an attachment steals on to the sweet and even enjoyment of a delicious temperature, which, without the aid of other pleasures, inspires a continually active sensation of happy existence.

In this surprising expedition it was my fate, both going and returning, to be one of the van: in two days I embarked in a small armed vessel, that was waiting for us at Bolac. On the third day from our departure I found myself at Rahmanieh; we set out from thence on the morrow, accompanied by a detachment of dragoons and fifty men, for Denbehur, from which place, following the canal of Alexandria, after traversing the province of Garbieh, we arrived at Biskit, where we halted for the night. The next day we breakfasted at the well of Behder, and dined at Alexandria.

On my arrival here, the first objects that struck my attention were two of our frigates ready for sea, lying at single anchor off the new port; not a single English cruizer was in sight, and I began to believe in prodigies. Generals Lasnes, Mérat, and Marmont, were agitated

The disposable force which Kleber had to combat the enemy was only 10,000 men, divided amongst the important posts of Cathieh, Salehieh, and Belbeis, which he was equally obliged to guard with the utmost vigilance, to preserve his communications with Cairo, and enable him to march wherever he should be menaced. He had about 1000 men at Lesbeh, to guarantee that side from insurrection; 1,800 at Aboukir, Rosetta, and some other places of the Delta; 1,200 at Cairo and Gizeh; and nearly 2,500 in Upper Egypt, to hold in check Murad Bey, always active, never beaten, and constantly harassing our troops. Such was the situation of Kleber at the period when he concluded the convention of El-Arish; to which

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with anxiety; we listened without saying a word; were unable to occupy our attention with any thing; were constantly crowding to the same window; scrutinizing the sea, and watching with suspicion the movements of the smallest boat: at length, at one in the morning, General Menou came to inform us that Bonaparte was waiting for us on the beach. An hour after we had cleared the port, and at day-break, we got under weigh with a north-east wind, which continuing to blow from this quarter for two days, carried us out of the track of the English cruisers.

Nothing could be more unexpected than our arrival in France, and the news of it spread with the rapidity of lightning. Scarcely had we displayed the flag of a commander in chief, when the shore was covered with people, who exclaimed, Bonaparte! in accents of most intense desire: the public enthusiasm became uncontrollable, all apprehensions of contagion were forgotten, and our two vessels were surrounded by boats filled with men, whose only fear was lest they should be deceived in their hopes of the arrival of Bonaparte. France herself poured forth her thousands before him, who was destined to restore her splendour, and already from her frontiers demanded of him the revenge of Marengo. Our hero was borne in triumph to Frejus, and in an hour after had set out for Paris.

Delighted to become again my own master, I stole from the multitude, and, for the first time since my leaving France for Egypt, enjoyed the sweet satisfaction of being no longer crowded nor hurried. Formerly I should have thought myself a traveller and stranger at Frejus, but coming from Africa, I now seemed at home again, and one of the citizens of this little town, with nothing more to do. I arose late, I breakfasted at my full ease, I went to take a walk, visited the amphitheatre and the other ruins, looking with complacency at the frigates which had borne us, now lying at moorings in the harbour. Thus terminates the journal of Mr. Denon.

may be added, that the inhabitants, equally weary of our residence with the Turks, were desirous of our departure.

The convention, being signed at El-Arish, on the 24th of January, 1800, was despatched, by Sir Sidney Smith, to the British Court.

The French and-Italian journals which our plenipotentiaries procured, gave us no intelligence of the arrival of Bonaparte, and the news concerning our armies was far from satisfactory.

As soon as Kleber was informed of the ratification of Youssef-Pacha, and had taken all the dispositions necessary to insure the execution of the treaty, he marched for Cairo, when Desaix was appointed to convey the despatches of the General-in-Chief to the Directory, and explain the motives which had determined him to evacuate Egypt. A commissary in ordinary and two commissaries of war were charged to accompany him to make the necessary preparations in France for the reception of the army on its debarkation, when the Commissary-in-Chief named me to this service, a favour which I shall never forget.

The news of the treaty with the Grand Vizir soon spread throughout Egypt. The officers sold their horses; every one endeavoured to procure a little money, to furnish himself with the articles indispensable for the route. If Kleber had exceeded his powers in treating for the evacuation of Egypt, he was sufficiently excused by the transports of joy manifested throughout the army.

On the 20th of February I left Bulak with Generals Desaix, Davoust, and Dugua, where we embarked on several dgerms, having with us nearly two hundred wounded and maimed soldiers of the different corps of the army.

Desaix was born at Ayat, in Auvergne, and was now in his thirty-third year; his name had already been long celebrated among the French, and respected and es-



teemed by the Austrians. It were impossible to unite more modesty to greater abilities, meekness to firmness of character, or to possess more coolness in the greatest dangers. Being a well-instructed observer, nothing escaped his attention; he liked to converse with artificers and peasants whenever he met them. His countenance was prepossessing, his eyes expressive and spirited, and his conversation always animated, and often brilliant, evinced a memory furnished with the best stores of literature, and a solid and profound judgement.

From many Desaix had received the surname of *Bayard*, and he was truly worthy the title of the *chevalier without fear and without reproach*. He was easy of access, his reception always obliging, and he passionately loved glory, for which he abandoned every thing. His admiration of Bonaparte was real, and his only fear in the midst of the numerous obstacles which retarded our arrival in France, was that Napoleon would leave him nothing to do. Alas! that the blood of Desaix should have bedewed the laurels of Marengo!

The pleasure of returning to France, and the assurance of performing our voyage without molestation, being, in execution of the 14th article of the convention, we were furnished with passports by the Grand Vizir and Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who, for our greater security, permitted an English officer to accompany us.

We arrived at Rosetta without accident, and encamped upon the small island which separates the two branches of the Nile. There Desaix left us to proceed by land to Alexandria, as our mariners had assured us that the contrary winds would last two days longer. In addition to this, the sea was too rough, so that we dared not expose ourselves to the passage of the Boghaze, which is always dangerous when the waves rise upon the sands that obstruct the mouth of the Nile.

Two days after our arrival at Rosetta we left the river and rowed towards Alexandria, passing the rocks a

Aboukir, and soon came in sight of the *Theseus*, still cruising before the port, but which did not interrupt the communications re-established by the convention.

Desaix wished to take advantage of the calm to pass the Bosphore of the port of Alexandria; the Ragusian merchant brig, the *Santa Maria delle Grazie*, and the packet *L'Etoile*, accordingly set sail on the 3d of March. I was embarked on the *Santa Maria*, together with General Desaix and Messieurs Savary, Rapp, and Clement.

The *Etoile*, commanded by captain Roustan, accompanied us as a flag of truce, and had on board General Davoust. We were steered through the pass by Turkish pilots, and soon spreading our sails gained the main sea.

Previous to the period when General Kleber concluded the convention with Sir Sidney Smith, he had forwarded despatches to the French government, containing an account of the alarming situation of the army of Egypt. The packet which had these communications on board was met and captured by an English cruiser, previous to which the letters were attached to a bullet and thrown overboard, but the cord chancing to break, the correspondence rose to the surface, and was seized by the enemy. These most important documents were forwarded by the Captain to Admiral Keith, who commanded in the Mediterranean, by whom they were instantly despatched to the British government. Thus was the real state of the French army in Egypt discovered, which differed so widely from the statements made by Kleber to Sir Sidney Smith, that the English ministry forwarded fresh orders to that commander.

Desaix had scarcely set sail from Alexandria, when the *Theseus*, under the orders of Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, resumed the blockade of the port and closed all the communications. This measure was in consequence of the dispositions taken by the court of London after read-

ing the intercepted despatches of Kleber. They believed that they ought not to consent to the evacuation of Egypt, but on condition of the army surrendering prisoners of war. Admiral Lord Keith was charged to inform Sir Sidney Smith of this new resolution, and he in consequence addressed a letter to General Kleber. The answer of the General-in-Chief to this revolting proposition will speedily be manifested, when Sir Sidney had to regret that the fruits of an able and fortunate negotiation, which would have attached his name to history in an important political transaction, was thus annihilated in a moment.

Although the instructions, despatched by Admiral Keith, destroyed or at least suspended the effect of the convention of El-Arish, the Grand Vizir and Kleber continued faithful to the terms, persuaded that the court of London would not persevere in its determinations. They concerted together different provisionary measures, but difficulties arose even from the effect of their mutual dispositions. During these discussions, the object of which was to delay a rupture that would have been fatal to both armies, Kleber, for the purpose of removing his uncertainty, despatched Adjutant-general Cambyse and M. Poussielgue to Admiral Lord Keith. They were charged to procure a precise account of the reasons which had induced the British cabinet to vacillate, and for this purpose embarked, with the permission of Sir Sidney Smith, in the frigate which had brought the despatches from Lord Keith. They found the Admiral before Genoa, occupied in seconding by sea the efforts of the Austrians to seize upon that place, so valiantly defended by Massena. Lord Keith, to their great surprise, so far from entering into any explanation, positively announced that the evacuation of Egypt was about to take place without any obstacle on his part, and that, on the contrary, he was on the point of expediting fresh instructions to Sir

Sidney Smith to accelerate measures as much as possible. Affairs indeed were changed, — the army of Youssef-Pacha was conquered !

This unexpected alteration in the decisions of the English government was undoubtedly the effect of a correspondence of Lord Elgin, then at Constantinople, and the positive information which the cabinet of London acquired from Sir Sidney Smith, who had without delay despatched the convention signed at El-Arish. Thus, at length, the French army, in virtue of this tardy ratification, was permitted to quit Egypt, and return to France.

During these contradictory resolutions, the Grand Vizir ; master of Cathieh, Salehieh, Belbeis, Damietta, part of the Delta, and Upper Egypt, evacuated in pursuance of the treaty, was desirous of obliging the French to quit Cairo, which he wanted to possess. Kleber, however, who had entirely committed himself to the discretion of the Turks by his dangerous compliance with the convention, refused to give up the only fortified place which remained after Alexandria. This refusal was notified to Youssef-Pacha, together with the determination of recommencing hostilities, should he persist in the attempt. The Vizir, presuming that the French were unable to resist the superiority of his forces, was obstinate, when Kleber instantly decided to act, and placing the letter of Lord Keith to the order of the day, he merely added the following words, which I believe I have faithfully retained ; “ Soldiers, we can answer such indignity only by victory ; which is at the end of our bayonets ; let us march.” The drum soon assembled to their colours our animated soldiers, outraged in their honour, and preferring a noble death to infamy. The plain of Lacoubbe once more witnessed the forming of our battalions, which, though weak in point of numbers, were still formidable on account of their valour. Every thing was in conse-

quence prepared for a great action, which would decide the fate of Egypt.

To appreciate the battle of Heliopolis, it must be remarked, that Kleber, confident of the execution of a convention, intended to guarantee the advantages resulting from it, had himself opened Egypt to those who pretended to chase him from its territories; that the enemy was at the gates of the capital; and that, one day later, he had no other resource left than to retire upon Alexandria. Although his surprise was great, he saw in an instant how critical was his situation, and his mind remained calm in the midst of the dangers that threatened him. There was only one path indicated by honour; and he did not hesitate in adopting it. Every sentiment united to increase the courage of his soldiers, whose hopes being frustrated, they had to punish bad faith, and avenge insult; otherwise to augment their misery; nothing remained but the prospect of a grievous and dishonourable captivity. Kleber, glorying in the idea of a difficult victory, communicated to the whole army the ardour by which he felt inflamed. He recalled to mind the battle of Mount Thabor, and how ineffectually a host of irresolute enemies had attacked his weak division, which was, moreover, in want of ammunition. He remarked that a small number of brave men, accustomed to the dangers of war, and intured by so many combats, might again disperse this cloud of barbarians, who knew not how to manœuvre or employ their means.

Kleber, after taking all the precautions suggested by his prudence, to protect the French who could not follow the army from the fury of the inhabitants of Cairo, set out at break of day from Lacoubbe, on the 20th of March. As an able and resolute General, he felt that he ought not to suffer the enemy to anticipate him, but directly direct the primary impulse,—that first spring upon the enemy so formidable with French soldiers. By

leaving the Turks to approach the walls of Cairo he would have exposed himself to be disturbed in his rear by the population of that capital, then restrained by terror, but which would have declared against him the moment he was attacked in front by the Ottomans. Kleber, therefore, marched directly against the enemy, his army consisting of twelve or thirteen thousand men: that of the Grand Vizir, encamped near El Hanka, being more than forty thousand strong, having a very numerous cavalry; while the immense equipages of that army, happily inexperienced, covered the borders of the desert. As soon as Youssef-Pacha had received intelligence of the movement of Kleber, he quitted his camp and marched upon Matarieh, a village situated near the ruins of ancient Heliopolis, where the two unequal forces came to an engagement. The Turkish cavalry at first attempted, but in vain, to break our infantry and arrest its march, but a terrible fire of musketry kept it in awe, and obliged it to recede. After this first success the infantry charged the enemy's lines, already broken by the artillery—when the affair was quickly decided. The Grand Vizir wished to fall back upon his camp, but seeing that the French army by a flank movement was about to cut him off from the inhabited country, and drive him into the desert, he determined to make a retrograde movement, which retreat proved a complete sanguinary rout. The whole of the Turkish artillery and the greater part of their equipages fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was very inconsiderable compared with that of the enemy. The Grand Vizir on the contrary lost, on that day so fatal to his arms, eight thousand men in killed or wounded, without reckoning those who perished in the desert from fatigue and want.

Murad Bey, posted, with six hundred Mamelukes, upon a height which over-looked the field of battle, was witness of the defeat of the Osmanlis. He had informed the General-in-Chief that he should not take part in the

action, and he kept his word. This Bey, of whom the Ottoman court complained, had cause to fear the re-establishment of the authority of the Grand Signor in Egypt. He did not dissemble, that the Sublime Port had more than one infidelity to punish, and more than one usurped right to reclaim. The battle of Heliopolis, in proving to Murad-Bey the immense superiority of the French army, made him feel, on the other hand, how chimerical was the hope of his struggles against it. This reflection determined him, as was afterwards seen, to propose an arrangement to Kleber, which was agreed upon.

Whilst Kleber was chasing before him the terrified cohorts of the Grand Vizir, Nazouf-Pacha, who had been separated in the battle with a body of from six to eight thousand men, threw himself between Bulak and Cairo. The Turks made a horrible massacre of all the French whom they met, together with a great number of Cophts and Greeks, accused of having shown an attachment to our army. This movement, inspired by danger, determined the inhabitants of Cairo to rise, and terrified the weak garrison that remained in the surrounding forts. They believed the army totally destroyed, and the joy which they evinced on the return of Kleber can only be compared to that which is felt on passing from imminent danger to a state of the most perfect security.

Kleber, after having reconquered Egypt by this splendid and complete success, gave no repose to the Ottoman army, which had not yet passed the desert of Cathieh. Youssef-Pacha did not stop till he arrived at Gaza, where he profited by the respite accorded him, to occupy himself with the re-organization of his army. The French at length relieved from the mob of barbarians they had expelled, returned conquerors to the capital of Egypt. The army was pressed by famine during many days of its march, and the General-in-Chief, still more disturbed on account of what might have passed during his absence, burned with impatience to re-enter Cairo.

What was Kleber's astonishment on his arrival before the city (March 27th,) to see upwards of twenty thousand men, composed equally of Turks, under the orders of Nasouf-Pacha, of Arabs, of Fellahs, and of the revolted inhabitants, defending Cairo and Bulak. His situation was critical; it did not, however, destroy his constancy; he first caused Bulak to be carried by main force by General Belliard, and then ordered an attack upon the intrenchments which closed the entrances to Cairo; which effort, however, proved unsuccessful, and cost a number of men. The General at length decided on devoting the time necessary to form a regular siege, when batteries and mortars were established, which did such damage to the city that the inhabitants determined to capitulate. On the 21st of April, more than a month after the battle of Heliopolis, Kleber re-entered Cairo, after having granted to the detachments of the Ottoman army, which remained in the city, a free passage into Syria.\* By this submission of the inhabitants, which terminated the laborious exploits of the army, Kleber again became peaceable master of Egypt, with the exception of a province ceded by treaty to Murad-Bey, who, in exchange, bound himself to observe a faithful peace, and pay an annual tribute. But to return.

As soon as Desaix had received his passports from

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\* Previous to the final evacuation of Cairo, an action having taken place, which proved unfavourable to the French, a cannon ball carried off the thigh of General Lanusse, who had uniformly behaved with the most astonishing heroism, and the accident, which he survived only eight days, was universally lamented by his brother officers and soldiers. The surgeon in chief, Larry, repaired to Alexandria to amputate the limb, but the general refused to submit to the operation. All his friends were assembled, and the experienced surgeon said, that he would be answerable for success; adding, it would not put the life of the wounded general to the least hazard, but that without it there was no possibility of saving him. Fatigued, at length, by the solicitation of his friends, "No," said Lanusse, "I will not survive that dishonourable day!"



Lord Keith, he re-embarked in his former vessel, and we quitted Leghorn with unspeakable joy; as nothing now would oppose our return to France, we entered the road of Toulon (April 24th), having been absent two years wanting twenty-six days.

We passed twenty-five days at the Lazaretto to perform quarantine, during which time we received many visits and letters from our friends; among which Desaix got one from Bonaparte, at which he was much affected. The First Consul described the miseries that accompany greatness, and engaged Desaix to repair to him immediately; who overcome by the sad and moving tone of the letter, said to us, "*He is covered with glory, but he is not happy.*" And afterwards, reading in the journals the march of the army of reserve, he exclaimed, "*He will leave us nothing to do.*"

On the 19th of May, we finished our quarantine—two days afterwards we were at Marseilles, and Desaix from thence set out for Italy.

The conditions of the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt were, that the French should embark within three months, that they should be permitted to return to France with all their arms and baggage, and that the Turks should provide them with money, and supply them with necessaries during their stay in Egypt and voyage to Europe.

In the course of the above period, the brave and able General Kleber became the victim of assassination, for which act the murderer was impaled alive, and in consequence the chief command devolved upon General Menou, under whose directions the departure of the French army was effected.

In order to delineate in few words the privations and difficulties to which the remnants of the celebrated army of Egypt was reduced, it will be sufficient to insert the following extract from a letter despatched by Menou to

his brother the Mayor of Boufai, with which we shall terminate the account of the Egyptian campaign under Napoleon Bonaparte.

“ The fortune of war has turned against us ; attacked by forty thousand English, Osmanlis, and Sepoys of India on the land side ; by upwards of one hundred ships of war, on the sea ; a prey to hunger, thirst, and diseases of every description ; having no longer the necessary medical remedies for the hospitals ; unable to reckon more than eighteen hundred men capable of bearing arms, and nearly the whole afflicted by scurvy ; having consumed all the horses, asses, and camels which remained in Alexandria ; we were under the necessity of capitulating, after having fought with desperation. By land eighty pieces of cannon, mortars, and howitzers, and upwards of two thousand pieces of artillery from the sea, battered us in all directions, and must have reduced us to ashes ; the siege having continued for six months. If we have been overpowered by the largest force England ever yet collected for a maritime expedition, we have at all events preserved our honour. *I shall not convey back to France a single soldier who has not been wounded, and among them there are many who can display fifteen honourable scars.*”

## CHAP. VII.

*NAPOLEON lands at Frejus—Rapacity of Talleyrand Perigord, Ex-Bishop of Autun—BONAPARTE's Reception at Lyons—Critical Situation of the French Republic—NAPOLEON's Arrival at Paris—Machinations with Sieyes and Ducos, the Directors—NAPOLEON's Privacy—The Eighteenth Brumaire—Decree adjourning the Meeting of the Assemblies to St. Cloud—Proclamation of Fouché, Minister of Police—BONAPARTE marches Ten Thousand Men to the Tuileries—Resignation demanded of Barras—The Luxembourg invested—Barras yields up his Authority—BONAPARTE's Address to the Secretary Botot—Assembly of the Council of Five Hundred—The Nineteenth Brumaire—Meeting of the Assembly in the Orangerie, at St. Cloud—NAPOLEON's Speech to the Council—Stormy Proceedings in the Assembly of Five Hundred—Perilous Situation of Lucien Bonaparte—NAPOLEON wounded in the cheek—The President's Address to the Soldiers—An armed Force enters the Council of Five Hundred—The Members are expelled—Proceedings of the Council of Ancients—Project of a New Form of Government—Nomination of Sieyes, Ducos, and BONAPARTE as Consuls—Address to the French Nation—NAPOLEON's Proclamation respecting the Transactions of the Nineteenth Brumaire—The Three Consuls approved by the Council of Ancients—Address of the Consuls to the French People.*

It does not appear that any circumstance of peculiar notoriety attended the voyage of Bonaparte from Egypt to Europe; he conversed with the companions of his destiny, and amused himself, while on ship board, in studying geometry, and, upon some occasions, is said to have attended

to chymistry. Having gained the coast of Corsica, his native island, a storm obliged the vessel to enter the port of Ajaccio, where the reception he met with from his countrymen was precisely such as the *éclat* of his victories was calculated to ensure. At Corsica he learned the extent of the calamities France had suffered, and then set sail for the French coast, of which he was within sight, when the seamen discovered some English ships, amounting to seven sail. The topmasts of the French were lowered with a view to escape observation, and it was proposed to return to Corsica;—but Bonaparte assumed the command, and insisted upon making for the Coast of Provence, where he arrived safe, in the midst of an astonished multitude, who refused to credit the fact upon the mere hoisting of his flag at the mast-head, and were only convinced of the reality, when they beheld him in the midst of surrounding crowds. When the Directory at Paris were informed that Bonaparte had landed at Frejus, from Egypt, they made known the General's arrival to the Two Councils, who received the message with cries of *Vive la République!* The General remained at Frejus only one hour, while a carriage was procured to transport him to Paris, and he arrived at the capital on the 16th of October, being hailed on every side, during his journey, with the cry of "Peace! Peace!" as if the nation sighed for that blessing only, and expected it at his hands alone.

It is a peculiarity in the history of this extraordinary character, that a great variety of circumstances have always combined to promote his interest upon occasions when it is extremely probable that his own intrinsic merit would have produced him little or no advantage.

Paris, under the Directory, had become the centre of intrigues, the most unprincipled and corrupt, and the features of stern republican justice degenerated into smiles of sycophancy. Monsieur Talleyrand Perigord, ex-bishop of Autun, evinced a strong predilection for the re-establishment of priestly government, and soon attached to

himself a private synod of his ancient friends, who demonstrated a grateful willingness to pay before-hand the services he was about to render them.\*

The emigrant priests and nobles, who had, in vain, sued, in the name of justice, for permission to return to

\* The immense sums which this minister has plundered or extorted have certainly made him one of the wealthiest, if not the richest man in Europe. His expenses have always been great, even extravagant; but much beneath half the interest arising from an enormous capital, deposited under several names in the French, as well as in all foreign funds.

By the different negotiations, intrigues, indemnities, loans, jobbings, treaties, armistices, conventions, &c. up to Midsummer, 1802, Talleyrand was said, to have *indemnified* himself with the following sums: in 1797, sixteen millions three hundred and fifty thousand francs; in 1798, eleven millions one hundred and fifty thousand; in 1799, eight millions eight hundred thousand; in 1800, twenty millions fifty thousand; in 1801, thirty-three millions three hundred thousand; in 1802, thirteen millions nine hundred thousand.

Thus did he extort, during a period of five years, upwards of four millions sterling, from princes and subjects; by taking advantage of that information which his official station procured him, to lay all people and every class under contribution, either directly, by forced loans, or indirectly, by speculation in the public funds. This was a new system of plunder, not previously mentioned in history; even in the annals which record the corruption of eastern satraps, or of Turkish viziers and pachas.

From the 22d of September, 1803, to the 22d of September, 1804, he is said to have laid out in the purchase of estates in various parts of Europe, twenty millions six hundred and sixty-five thousand francs; for his seraglio, establishments in town and country, &c. four millions two hundred and ninety-three thousand three hundred francs. His speculations, since the above period, may easily be guessed from this specimen. Napoleon often checked, but found him unmanageable. He is one of the party alluded to in the "Voice from St Helena," who shared the plunder of the money which Napoleon received as a dowry with his wife, the Empress Marie Louise.

In comparison with former French ministers, Talleyrand possessed the financial abilities of a Sully, the capacity and duplicity of a Richelieu, the cunning and cupidity of a Mazarin, the commercial knowledge of a Colbert, the insensibility and cruelty of a Louvois, the profligacy and depravity of a Dubois, the method and perspicuity of Fleury, the penetration of a Choiseul, the suppleness of a Maurepas, and the activity of a Vergennes. Though, from haughtiness, he affected to depend upon his secretaries and inferiors for transacting the chief business of his office, nothing escaped his attention. In short, he, with great facility, decided in a few hours, what had puzzled the comprehension of others for a week.

their country, now found the way smoothed by the cupidity of the oily-tongued minister and his speculating masters. The sufferings which these unfortunate persons had borne, had reduced many of them to very humiliating circumstances, and though great numbers received small pensions from the governments under which they had taken refuge, it nevertheless became desirable to return home upon any terms. Numbers took measures for turning the vices of the government to their own account, and the proper application of money procured the erasure of their names from the list of emigrants.

Napoleon having disembarked at Frejus, proceeded to Lyons, where he lodged at the superb mansion of the ancient fraternity of Celestius. No sooner was the arrival of this extraordinary character rendered public, when acclamations of joy were heard in every direction, public festivities took place, and at night there was a brilliant illumination throughout the city. On the ensuing day the several constituted authorities, being given to understand that the General rose at an early hour, presented themselves before him, when the mayor, who was at their head, having prepared an harangue for the occasion, was on the point of delivering his speech. Bonaparte, however, scarcely allowing him time to open his mouth, addressed the assembly in the following terms :—

“GENTLEMEN,

“I was given to understand, that France groaned under an arbitrary government, and I therefore did not hesitate to abandon my army in Egypt, consisting of forty-six thousand men, that I might come and strike a blow here. I am now going hence ; but in a few days, if you think fit to wait upon me, I shall then be at leisure to hear you.”

At this period France was in the most precarious situation ; throughout the southern and western departments insurrections blazed with uncontrolled fury : clubs of jaco-

bins, established in the capital, thundered forth the language of anarchy; and General Jourdan, at this identical crisis, had proposed a decree in the Council of Five Hundred, whereby the country should again be proclaimed "in a state of danger." It was at that juncture Napoleon made his unexpected appearance at Paris.

The news flew round the city with the rapidity of lightning; and the Parisians eagerly thronged to behold the "Conqueror of Egypt:" they surrounded him, and each seemed more desirous than the other of welcoming his return. His manners appeared more affable than previous to his quitting France: he spoke freely to the people, and shook several soldiers by the hand who had served with him in Italy. His complexion, bronzed by the Egyptian sun, and his hair, cut short and without powder, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than were observable previous to his leaving Europe. He was out of uniform, and wore a gray riding-coat, with a silk scarf over his shoulder suspending a Turkish sabre. He passed along the courts and streets leading to the Luxembourg amidst the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the Directory.

Sieyes, the Director, had long contemplated the consequences likely to result from the imbecility of the Government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he saw, that if means were not adopted to render the executive power sufficiently strong to be feared, it would not be respected. He despised each of his colleagues, only one of whom had his confidence: namely, Roger Ducos, who looked up to Sieyes as an oracle, and attached himself to him, because he had sufficient foresight to perceive, that, if the Directory fell, Sieyes alone was capable of saving himself from the contempt of the people: to the latter, therefore Ducos had allied his own fortune, and thus became the disciple of his brother Director.

Sieyes had disclosed to Ducos his intention of calling

in the aid of one of the generals, in order to rescue the Republic and themselves by overthrowing the Directory; and he was therefore secretly pleased at this popular demonstration of joy, on the arrival of its favourite, which alarmed the other Directors; he welcomed Bonaparte to his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclosed to him his project and required his aid. In consequence of this preliminary step many secret conferences were held, at which the Directors Sieyes, Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Roderer, Reinhard, and Bonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy; those, however, who were engaged, managed their confidence with the greatest discretion. They created various rumours; and, among others, spread abroad that a new plan of government was forming for the Republic. Thus a change was generally talked of amongst the people, without any one knowing from whence it was to proceed, or when it would take effect: the public mind was, however, thus prepared for a change, and all that appeared necessary to render it palatable to the Parisians was the destruction of the Directory. A few of the Council of Ancients and of the Council of Five Hundred were also in the secret.

Bonaparte appeared very little in public; he seemed to court seclusion, and shun the gaze of the curious and the idle, declining also the visits of those who had no real business to transact: every body talked of him, but of those who so conversed very few knew any thing about him. He was busied in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, whose interest it was to continue silent, in order that their plans might be secure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull their brother Directors in security, whom they prevailed upon to in-



vile Generals Bonaparte and Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was, accordingly, given, by the Directory and the Councils, to those generals and their friends, in the Temple of Victory (the church of St. Sul-pice). The company consisting of nearly eight hundred persons, including most of the grand public functionaries of the Republic. The leading men of the different factions were assembled at this feast, which seemed intended for the purpose of softening their personal dislikes, by rendering them social and acquainted with each other. The toast given by the President of the Directory was "Peace!" and that by Bonaparte, "A union of all parties:" nevertheless, it was evident, this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence: and though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it seemed only calculated to produce disunion. Bonaparte quitted the room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

The company separated, each in mutual distrust of the intentions of the other, and without having felt any desire of subduing their individual animosities, or of repressing their ambitious pretensions. The least inclined of any of the festive band to forego his designs was Bonaparte; for the very evening of the day on which he gave "A union of all parties," as a toast, he met his own associates in secret, at the house of M. le Mercier, President of the Council of Ancients, finally to determine on those measures which had been agreed upon, and to assign to each individual the part he was destined to perform in the projected conspiracy against the Directory.

The Committee of Inspectors belonging to the Council of Ancients, at five o'clock on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, (the 9th of November, 1799,) sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had

been selected for that purpose by Bonaparte and his adherents, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy—they were required to assemble at eight o'clock in the Tuileries. When they met, it appeared that the most violent of the Jacobins, in number about a hundred, were not assembled, for no summonses having been sent they were ignorant of the meeting.

Cornet, Reporter of the Committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he forcibly detailed the dangers to which the Republic was subjected, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the Assembly, according to the 102d and 103d articles of the constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; for which purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the forces in Paris, as well as of the troops of the assemblies, and the National Guard. The decree was passed by a great majority.

“ This measure (said the proclamation, that was immediately issued) has been adopted by the Council of Ancients, in order to repress the factious who pretend to enslave the national representation, and to restore internal peace.

“ The plan is intended in order to procure external peace, which your long sacrifices and humanity demand. This constitutional measure has no other aim but the safety and the prosperity of all. Such an object shall be accomplished.

“ And you, inhabitants of Paris, remain tranquil; in a short time the Legislature will return to your city.

“ Frenchmen!—subsequent events will soon prove whether the Legislature may be entrusted with the honourable task of toiling for your happiness.

“ Long live the people! by and with whom the commonwealth exists.”

Bonaparte immediately appeared at the bar, attended by Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and

others. Being informed by the President, of his appointment, he spoke as follows :—

**" CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES !**

" The Republic was perishing—you know this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they may be ! aided by Generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present ; since nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the eighteenth century, and nothing in that resembles the present moment.

" Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a Republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty and national representation, and we will have it. We will have it—I swear it—I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades."

Lively applause proceeded from the tribunes, the President called them to order, and the Council became tranquil when the President said :—

**" GENERAL !**

" The Council of Ancients receives your oath ; there is no doubt of your sincerity, and zeal for action. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity."

Garat requested to be heard ; but the President observed, that after the decree which the council had passed, there could be no discussion, either in Paris or elsewhere, before the next day at noon ; and the sitting was dissolved, amidst loud cries of " Long live the Republic !"  
" Long live the Constitution of the Third Year !"

Benaparte immediately issued a proclamation to the

national guard and the regular forces, which had been prepared some time before the circumstances occurred which gave rise to the necessity of their being promulgated.—They had lain in the bureaux of the new revolutionists until the day when they were either to be of utility or not, when, if the proposed revolution was effected, they were to be circulated amongst the troops, and read by all the Parisians; or in case the measures had not succeeded, they would have been committed to the flames. The proclamations were for the events, and the events for the proclamations; and scarcely had the events occurred before the walls of Paris were placarded with the proclamations, which the good citizens, always fond of novelty, flocked in crowds to peruse.

These documents were immediately followed by another proclamation from the Minister of the General Police, Fouché, dated also the 18th Brumaire, and another from the central administration of Paris, wherein, after recounting the disorders that reigned throughout the country, and that peace could alone tend to heal public calamities, the document concluded thus:

“General Bonaparte, upon whose energetic measures every soldier and citizen may justly confide, is entrusted with the guardianship of your safety and that of the legislature at this awful crisis: you will therefore behold him with additional pleasure, acquiring to himself new glory, by contributing to the welfare of the people at large.

This proclamation was signed by the celebrated banker, Leconteux-Cantelen, president, and by Real, the commissary.

On the instant that the decree of the Council of Ancients had passed, Bonaparte marched ten thousand troops to the Tuileries, and guarded every avenue so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the palace. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and harangued his troops in the great court, while three of the

directors and all the rest of Paris were completely ignorant of what was going forward, until the issuing of his proclamations. The directors, Sieyes and Roger Ducos, being both in the secret, waited in silence the result of the meeting. Sieyes was walking in the garden of the Luxembourg, and Ducos continued in his own apartments, when they were informed of what had transpired, upon which they immediately proceeded to the Tuileries, and joined the two committees of inspection, the generals, and the rest of the military, who were in deliberation upon the measures requisite to be taken for putting the decree of the Council of Ancients into execution.

The Director Barras had been desired to give in his resignation very early in the morning, and the lady (Madame Bonaparte) through whom the request came, was empowered to offer him any pecuniary assistance he might require; he at first appeared to be violently irritated, but in a little time became more calm, and acknowledged that the government required some vigorous individual at its head, as it was impossible it could go on with five people, who had no confidence in each other; he, notwithstanding, refused to send in his resignation.

Gohier, who was that morning to have breakfasted with Bonaparte, felt infinitely astonished, on rising, to find what had passed, and particularly at the decree for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud: he went, however, into the audience chamber of the Directory, and sent for his colleagues. Moulins, who was equally surprised, joined him immediately; but they were both still more confounded, when they heard that Sieyes was gone to the Tuileries; and on sending for Ducos, they found he was there also: Barras was summoned next, but he refused to attend. Gohier sent immediately for La Garde, the Secretary-General, and ordered him to register a decree, which he dictated, but the latter answered, "That as two members could not constitute a majority of the Directory, it was impossible for him to act as he re-

quested." Moulins became extremely agitated, and proposed immediately to send a guard to invest the house of Bonaparte and keep him prisoner; but he was told, that it would be impossible, as every soldier then in Paris was under Bonaparte's command. General Lefebvre was requested to attend: but he confirmed what they had before heard, and said, "That, as he was under the orders of Bonaparte, he could not march a single man without his permission." They then despaired of retaining their power; and in a few minutes the Luxembourg was invested by a strong guard, sent thither by Bonaparte.

By the Constitution it was requisite that the act for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud should be signed by a majority of the Directory; and Gohier, impelled by that curiosity and indecision that characterizes weakness, went to the Tuilleries and added his name to those of Sieyes and Ducos. Unwilling, however, to relinquish his dignity, he repented of what he had done; and when the great seal of state, which, as president, he possessed, was demanded of him, he refused to give it up. On his return to the Luxembourg a strong guard was immediately appointed over him, and he, in consequence, remained a prisoner in the Directorial Palace.

Moulins was so overpowered by fear that he jumped out of a window which looked into the garden, and secreted himself among the bushes till he could get quietly away: and he was deemed of so little consequence that no one attempted to look after him.

At noon Barras sent his resignation to Bonaparte, by his secretary, Botot. The Ex-director remained in a carriage near the Tuilleries till his emissary returned with the result of his message. Bonaparte was in the apartment of the Inspectors when Botot desired to speak with him: he was introduced by Courtois, and having given the paper to the General, inquired, in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him. "Tell that man," said Bonaparte, "that I desire to hear no more of him, and

that I will cause the authority I am intrusted with to be respected." Then, raising his voice loud enough to be heard even by those who were in the antichamber, he thus continued to address the astonished Secretary: "What have you done with the country which I left so flourishing? you was at peace, and I find you at war: I left you victory, and I witness defeat: you were conquerors, and now the enemy is passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I covered with glory? what is become of them? alas! they are no more! This state of things cannot last long, in three years it will end in despotism: *but we are for a Republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration.* If you believe the assertions of the factions, we are the enemies of the Republic; we, who have strengthened it by our labours, and cemented it by our blood! but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service."

This harangue was highly applauded, and Botot retired in confusion, to acquaint Barras with what had passed. The latter obtained leave to retire to his superb estate of *Gros Bois*, and a party of horse attended him thither as a guard of safety.

During this time the Council of Five Hundred had assembled, overcome by distrust and fear, not knowing upon which of their colleagues they were to rely, and dreading the treachery of some whom they had no ground even to suspect. These alarms had been occasioned by the decree of the Council of Ancients and the extraordinary events of the morning: not knowing the causes from whence those occurrences had originated, they were fluctuating between the conjecture and expectation which vague and contradictory rumours had excited, as the President, Lucien Bonaparte, entered the hall, when eagerness was depicted in most of their countenances whilst he took his seat. From him they expected an

authentic account of the proceedings of the morning and the objects to which they were directed. Lucien Bonaparte had been chosen their President some days before ; and it was only known to a very few of the Members, who had assisted in procuring his appointment, that it was a measure effected by the management and intrigue of the new party, in order to assist their designs upon the Government.

To Lucien, therefore, the brother of General Bonaparte, every eye was turned.—The *procès verbal* was read, and all were eager to speak. The President perused the decree from the Council of Ancients, which removed the Legislative Body to the palace of St. Cloud. A violent clamour instantly arose : Lucien declared the sitting dissolved, amidst a strong opposition, and he immediately quitted the hall with several of the members, who were attached to the new order of things.

During the period occupied by these events, and throughout the same night, Bonaparte with the other generals and public men, having Abbe Sieyes at their head, were indefatigably occupied in preparing and arranging the business that was to be transacted the following day. The Directory was at an end : Barras had retired in exile ; Gohier and Moulins remained prisoners at the Luxembourg, while the remaining Directors, Sieyes and Ducos, were strenuously pursuing measures to accelerate the projected overthrow ; and while these transactions were taking place, parties of horse and foot soldiers paraded every street and square of the French metropolis.

The nineteenth Brumaire (November the tenth, 1799) teemed with most important events ; the chateau of Saint Cloud was invested by troops ere the earliest dawn of day, where, according to the decree of the Council of Ancients, that body, together with the Council of Five Hundred, had convened their sittings at noon, by which hour a great portion of the members had assembled.



As precautions had been taken to have every avenue strictly guarded, the Deputies could not pass without showing their medals, so that only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter. The Picture Gallery was appointed for the Council of Ancients, and the Orangerie for the Council of Five Hundred ; but the sittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being completed.

The debates were opened in the Council of Five Hundred by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. It was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried ; but scarcely had it been suggested, when several members of the Jacobin party darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of " Down with dictators ! " became general : others exclaimed, " The Constitution or death ! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post ? " while some proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the Constitution. The members of the opposite party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of " Long live the Constitution ! " became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the Jacobins, and it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath occupied two hours, which being terminated, various propositions were offered and discussed amidst great confusion. At length some motions were proposed and adopted, totally opposite to the intentions of those who had procured the adjournment of the meeting to St. Cloud.

A letter was now brought in, addressed to the Council: it was opened by the President, who announced that it came from Barras. On being read, it made known his resignation, but was couched in such guarded and ambiguous terms as seemed to intimate a desire to be em-

ployed in the new Government. This letter gave rise to a violent debate, on the question—whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new Director? Much of the confusion arose from the members who were well disposed towards a change of government, but who had repaired to the Assembly totally ignorant of what was intended by Bonaparte. They had been easily induced to listen to the extravagant reports circulated by the Jacobins, who produced all the confusion which had arisen.

The danger became imminent, and the prevention of a civil war required that some vigorous measures should be adopted to complete the revolution. Bonaparte, being made acquainted with these tumultuous discussions, became violently agitated, and hastened to the Council of Ancients; having previously deposited his arms in the antichamber, he entered the Assembly, and then requested permission to address the sitting; when leave being granted, the following were the most prominent features of Bonaparte's celebrated harangue upon that occasion.

“ They talk of a new Cæsar, of a new Cromwell; a report is spread that I am desirous of establishing a military government. Had I been anxious to oppress the cause of liberty, to usurp the supreme authority, I should not have been obedient to your orders; it would not have been necessary for me to receive such authority from the senate.”

“ The country does not boast a more zealous defender than myself, my devotion has been entire for the execution of its orders; but it is on you alone that its salvation depends, for there is no longer a directory; four of the magistrates, constituting a part of that body, have given in their dismissions; dangers are pressing; the evil increases:”

“ As to the constitution, is it your wish to invoke it? What does it now present, but a heap of ruins? has it not been successively the sport of all factions? Did you not trample it under foot on the 18th Fructidor; on the

22d, Floreal, as well as on the 28th Prairial?—The constitution!—Is it not under that name that all tyrannical measures have been organized since its existence? What guarantee can it now give? Is not its insufficiency manifest, by the countless outrages committed against it by those very men who now plight towards it their faith, in derision? All the rights of the people have been shamefully violated; to re-establish them upon a firm basis is now the task, in order to consolidate for France, liberty, and the republic.”

“I declare to you that the moment the danger is over, I will resign the command which has been vested in me; I will only be, in respect to the magistracy named by you, the arm that shall support it.”

The firm and severe aspect of Bonaparte, as well as the importance of events on the point of arriving, redoubled the attention paid by the Council; notwithstanding which Cornudet affirmed that a conspiracy existed, accusing the general with being one of its principal leaders; whereupon Napoleon, rising, exclaimed with vehemence:

“Me a conspirator! I could at this moment reveal secrets which would instantly confound my calumniators; I shall, however, content myself by stating to you that Barras and Moulin tampered with me to overthrow the government, and to place myself at the head of affairs; but I would not listen to such overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life, and that I only desire to serve the French people.”

“Representatives of the people! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to rescue the country.” Bonaparte then bowing, retired.

The Council of Five Hundred immediately began a very stormy discussion, upon which, however, the members had not long continued, ere the General suddenly re-entered the Hall, unarmed, accompanied by a few soldiers, who were equally without any weapons. Napoleon then advanced to the upper end of the chamber,

upon which, the Council was instantly put in motion, and the universal cry of "A General here! what does Bonaparte want with us?" resounded through the apartment.

Some of the members flew to the tribunes, others hastened towards Bonaparte, vehemently exclaiming, "No dictator! Down with the Tyrant! Down with him! Kill him, kill him!" Upon which he was pushed back and struck at. Several of the Council then drew forth poniards and pistols; and Arena, a native of Corsica, and one of the Deputies, aimed a blow at the General with a dagger, which Thome, a grenadier, parried with his arm, and was wounded; Bonaparte being also struck in the cheek immediately after.

The President, Lucien, with great difficulty obtained leave to speak: "The General," said he, "has, undoubtedly, no other intention than to acquaint the Council with the present situation of affairs."—Loud clamours and threats prevented the President's being heard any further; and the General was so overpowered by the number of those who precipitated themselves forward to attack him, that he was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre rushed into the Hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who surrounded Napoleon and escorted him out. As soon as the soldiers had left the Hall, the members instantly decreed, that the Council of Ancients had no power to invest Bonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the Directory alone. The President, Lucien, animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults which some of the members had offered towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the Republic.—Several members cried out, "Outlaw him! he has disgraced his military character, and he deserves death from the hand of every patriot:" others said, "The *President* is in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the General outlawed."—The Assembly then became a mob, and Lucien was attacked on

all aidea.—His authority being no longer submitted to, and his life even endangered; he darted from the chair—indignantly stripped himself of the insignias of his office, and made his way to the tribune; having mounted, he endeavoured to make himself heard, but his voice was drowned in loud cries against himself and his brother.—He then violently exerted himself, but to no effect; and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes, while his destruction appeared almost inevitable.

When the soldiers, by whom General Bonaparte had been rescued, had escorted him to the exterior, he hastened to the court of the palace, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them as follows: "Soldiers, every one thought that the Council of Five Hundred would save the country, but, instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies; Comrades! may I rely on you?"—"Yea, yes, Long live Bonaparte!" was the reply.—He then selected some grenadiers, who threw open the doors of the Hall, just as Lucien was on the point of falling by the stilettos of the Deputies, he was then carried off amidst their vociferations, and immediately proceeded to the Council of Ancients, to whom he related the recent danger of his brother and himself, in the Council of Five Hundred.—Lucien was interrupted in his speech, by Regnier observing the irregularity of permitting a member of the Council of Five Hundred to speak in the Council of Elders. This objection, however, was overruled, and Lucien Bonaparte afterwards joined his brother, who was inspiring the troops to the accomplishment of his object; when, after a moment's conference with the General, the former mounted a horse, in order that he might be better seen and heard, and then addressed the soldiers to the following effect:

"CITIZENS!—As President of the Council of Five Hundred I declare to you, that the immense majority of the Council is now subdued by the terror of some repre-

representatives, armed with poniards, and threatening with death those who refuse compliance with their coercive measures. I declare to you, that those audacious assassins, no doubt paid by England, are in a state of rebellion against the Council of Ancients, and have threatened with outlawry the very General entrusted with the wise measures of that Council; as if we were still in the dreadful times of their reign, when the word *outlawed*! was sufficient to cut off the most illustrious heads of the country. I declare to you, that those few assassins are themselves outlawed for having attacked the liberty of that Council. In the name of the people, I entrust to the brave soldiery the honourable task of rescuing the majority of the Representatives; in order, that, after being protected by bayonets against their poniards, they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the Republic.

"General! Soldiers! and Citizens! you will only acknowledge for French legislators those who follow me out of that seditious assembly; such as remain in the Orangerie must be driven from thence by force. Those assassins are not deputies from the people, but *representatives of the poniard*: such shall be their title wherever they may be found; and, whensoever they dare show themselves to the people, may they be pointed at under the deserved appellation of "Representatives of the poniard."

Lucien Bonaparte concluded his speech by crying, out "Long live the Republic!" upon which the soldiers reiterated "Long live the Republic! Long live Bonaparte!"

General Serrurier immediately after used the following energetic words:—

"SOLDIERS!—The Council of Elders approves General Bonaparte, whom the Council of Five Hundred has attempted to assassinate. Villains! we will overcome them, and peace shall be restored."

The troops were then ordered to enter the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. Upon which the commanding

officer exclaimed: "General Bonaparte commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers advanced and filled one half of the chamber, the other being occupied by those Deputies who did not retire, and had crowded round the President's chair. A member, called Talot, then said to the armed force: "What are you soldiers? You are the guardians of the national representation—and you dare to menace its safety and independence! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle?" Many of the members also addressed the soldiers, conjuring them, in the name of Liberty, not to follow their leaders; the drums were, however, beat and the voices of the members could no longer be heard. The grenadiers then pointed their muskets, when a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay was exhibited by the tardy Deputies, who, in their eagerness to escape from the bayonets of the soldiers, choked up the windows and precipitated themselves over one another. In this manner the chamber was soon cleared amidst cries of "Long live the Republic! Long live Bonaparte!" and the Deputies were received on the outside by the bootings and hisses of the people.

Such was the eventful scene in the Councils of the Ancients and of Five Hundred, from whence it must be obvious to the unbiassed reader that even allowing the ambition of Napoleon in its fullest extent, the instability and weakness of the then existing state of things, and the sanguinary and destructive changes which had preceded, were sufficient causes for exciting the contempt of every thinking mind and creating a heartfelt desire for the establishment of some steady form of government, that might preclude the possibility of a renewal of bloodshed, confusion, and universal anarchy.

The Council of Ancients, on learning the occurrences that had been transacted in the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, issued a decree, to the following purport:

"Considering the *retreat* of the Council of Five Hun-

dred, and that of four Directors, the fifth (Gohier) being confined, a temporary executive commission, of three members, shall be appointed.

“ The Legislature is adjourned to the 1st of Nivose next, (December 22), when it will meet again in Paris, without being farther convoked.

“ During the recess there will be an intermediate commission of the Council of Ancients, at present the only existing one, in order that the rights of the national representation may be protected.

“ The intermediate commission is authorized to convoke the Legislature previous to that time, should such a measure be deemed expedient.

“ The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening, when the Council shall proceed to the execution of the above-mentioned measures.”

At the above hour those members of the Council of Five Hundred who had followed Lucien Bonaparte, their President, again assembled in the Orangerie, under the protection of the troops. Lucien once more took the chair in safety, and sent a message to the members of the Council to inform them of their having met, upon which he moved the following resolutions, that were immediately passed :—

“ The Council of Five Hundred declares, That General Bonaparte, and the other generals and officers commanding the troops, as well as the soldiers employed at St. Cloud, having saved the majority of the Legislature and the Republic, attacked by a factious minority, composed of assassins, have deserved well of their country.

“ The Council also declares, That the two brave grenadiers, Thomas Thome and I. B. Poirer, who defended General Bonaparte against the poniards of the assassins, have also deserved well of the country.”

Chazal proposed that a committee of five members should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government; this being adopted Lucien quitted



the President's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the Republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and the necessity of appointing a new one. His speech was received with the loudest applause and repeated cries of "Long live the Republic!" Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government: he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the profligate conduct and incapacity of the Directory, as well as the defects in the Constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power, to give solidity to the state, and prevent the return of anarchy.

The Council then passed the following

### DECREE:

1st. There is no longer an Executive Directory, and the following persons cease to be members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uniformly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning:

[This was followed by a list of seventy names, constituting the number of those who had been most strenuous in opposing the views of Bonaparte and his colleagues.]

2d. The Legislative Body creates, provisionally, an Executive Consular Committee, composed of citizens SIEYES and ROGER DUCOS, Ex-directors, and BONAPARTE, General.\* They shall bear the name of "CONSULS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC."

3d. This Committee is invested with the full powers of

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\* Bonaparte having expelled the Directory, whose residence had been in the palace of the Luxembourg, when asked where he would take up his abode? made answer, after a moment's pause, "At the palace of the *Tuilleries*; it is a good *military post*."

the Directory, and especially commissioned to restore order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and procure an honourable and solid peace.

4th. It is authorised to send delegates having authorities limited according to its own power.

5th. The Legislative Body is adjourned to the 20th of February, when it is to meet, in full power, at Paris.

6th. During the adjournment of the Legislative Body, the members shall preserve their indemnity and constitutional security.

7th. They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as ministers, diplomatic agents, delegates of the executive consular committee, and in all other civil functions; they are even invited, in the name of the public good, to accept them.

8th. Before their separation, and during the time of sitting, each Council shall name, from among its members, a committee of twenty-five.

9th. The Committees appointed by the Two Councils will, in conjunction with the Committee of the Executive Consulate, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legislation, and finance.

10th. To the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred will belong the right of proposing, and to the Council of Elders that of sanctioning such propositions.

11th. The Two Committees will also, in the order above mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the Constitution, which experience may have shown to be defective or vicious.

12th. These changes can have no other object but that of consolidating and guaranteeing inviolably the sovereignty of the people; the republic one and indivisible; the representative system; the division of power; liberty, equality, and the safety of property.

13th. The Executive Consulate Committee may lay before the other Committees their views upon these subjects.

14th. The Two Committees are charged to prepare a civil code.

15th. Their sittings will be held, at Paris, in the palace of the Legislative Body, and they may be convoked for the ratification of peace, or in cases of great public emergency or danger.

16th. These Resolutions shall be printed, and sent, by extraordinary couriers, to the departments, and solemnly published and stuck up in all the communes of the Republic.

This decree was sent to the Council of Ancients, when the Council of Five Hundred composed the following Address from the Legislative Body to the French people, dated, St. Cloud, 10th November, 1799:—

“ FRENCHMEN!—The Republic has once more been rescued from the attacks of the factious. Your faithful Representatives have broken the poniards in the hands of the assassins, who threatened you with destruction: they felt that it was time to terminate for ever such terrible commotions; and, having only consulted their duty and their courage, they are confident of meriting the praises of their constituents.

“ Frenchmen! your mutilated liberty, still bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the Revolutionary Government, thought to have found shelter under a constitution which promised at least some respite. The want of repose was generally felt, a deep terror was still impressed on every soul, and the awful crisis was not forgotten. Your military glory might have effaced the most wonderful achievements of antiquity. Struck with admiration, Europe was elated with your glory, and made secret vows for the object you aimed at; in short, your enemies sued for peace: every thing seemed at length co-operating to ensure to you the quiet enjoyment of liberty and happiness; that felicity and freedom which alone can compass it seemed likely to reward such generous endea-

vours. But seditious men have constantly attacked with boldness the weak side of your constitution ; they have cunningly availed themselves of those articles which might lead to new commotions. The constitutional system has been but a string of revolutions, in different shapes, of which the several factions have taken advantage : even those who wished the most to abide by the constitution have been often compelled to enforce its violation, in order to prevent its total destruction. From such a vacillating state of government proceeded the still more unsettled system of legislation, and the most sacred rights of social men have been abandoned to the whims of factions and events. It is necessary to put a period to such commotions ; it is high time to give solid guarantees to the liberty of the citizens, to the sovereignty of the people, to the independence of the constitutional powers ; in a word, to the Commonwealth, the name of which has served but too often to authorize the violation of every sterling principle : it is high time that the Great Nation may have a becoming code of laws, a steady and wise government, which may give you a speedy and solid peace, and ensure you real happiness. Frenchmen ! those are the motives which have occasioned the energetic measures of the legislature. In order to obtain more rapidly the final and complete revival of every branch of the administration a temporary government is instituted : it is invested with sufficient power to enforce a respect for the laws, to protect the peaceful citizens, and to repress all conspirators and wicked men. Royalty shall no longer rear its head : the frightful remains of revolutionary government will disappear ; republic and liberty shall cease to be phantoms : a new æra must commence. Frenchmen ! stand by your magistrates : nothing can diminish the zeal of those who have had the courage to conceive such flattering and sublime hopes for your welfare : the success now depends on your confidence, your union, and your wisdom. Soldiers of liberty !

you will be deaf to every perfidious insinuation; you will pursue your victorious career; you will conquer peace, in order to rejoin your brothers, participate in all the blessings you have ensured them, and receive from national gratitude the honours and rewards due to your glorious deeds.

“ Long live the Republic!”

Bonaparte, in the interim, was busied in preparing a Proclamation, with the assistance of his secretary, Bourienne,\* which was issued at eleven o'clock at night, on the 19th Brumaire, (10th November, 1799), in the following form, which we insert at length, as it contains Napoleon's recital of these extraordinary events:

### PROCLAMATION

*Of the Commander-in-Chief, Bonaparte.*

“ ON my return to Paris I found discord reigning among all the Constituted Authorities, and that they agreed only respecting one truth, viz. ‘ That the constitution was half destroyed, and unable to save the cause of Liberty.’ I was applied to by all parties, they entrusted me with their designs, disclosed their secrets, and solicited my support. I refused to lend myself to any party. The Council of Elders summoned me before them. I obeyed the call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accustomed to behold the defenders of liberty, equality, and property. This plan required a calm and free investigation, unbiassed by influence or by fear. Agreeably to

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\* This man, who like so many others, had shared the favours of Napoleon in an eminent degree, subsequently rewarded his master's liberality by the basest ingratitude, publishing anonymously the most infamous libels against him, and leaguings with the bitterest of his enemies.

this idea, the Council of Elders resolved upon transferring the Legislative Body to St. Cloud: it charged me with the military force necessary to protect its independence. I deemed it a duty I owed to my fellow citizens, to the soldiers, who are perishing in our armies, and the national glory, acquired by their blood, to accept that command. The Councils assembled at St. Cloud; the Republican troops watched over their external security; but assassins caused terror to prevail in the interior. Several Deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, armed with stiletos and pistols, uttered threats, and menaced with the terrors of death. The plans that were to be developed became limited; the majority was disorganised, the most intrepid speakers disconcerted, and the proposal and agitation of any wise measure became utterly useless; I communicated my indignation and my sorrow to the Council of Elders; I requested that I might be allowed to secure the execution of their generous designs; I represented to them the calamities of the country by which they had been suggested, when they joined me in new testimonies of their constant and unalterable determination. I appeared in the Council of Five Hundred alone, without arms, my head uncovered, and in such manner as the Elders had received and applauded me. I proceeded to remind the majority of the intentions by which they were animated, and to assure them that they might rely on their power. The stiletos, by which the Deputies were menaced, were immediately raised against him who wished to become their deliverer. Twenty assassins darted upon me and aimed their weapons at my breast; the grenadiers of the Legislative Body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran up and threw themselves between the assassins and me; one of these brave grenadiers, named Thome, received a blow from a stiletto, which pierced his clothes—by those my safety was ensured. At the same moment, cries of "*Declare him an outlaw!*" were heard against that very man who wished

to defend the law. It was the frantic scream of the assassin against the force destined to rob him of his prey. — They thronged round the President with threats in their mouths, and arms in their hands; they ordered him to put the question of outlawry. I was informed of this, and gave orders that he might be rescued from their fury, and accordingly six grenadiers effected his retreat. Immediately after, some troops of the Legislative Body entered the hall, at the *pas de charge*, and cleared it. The factious leaders, being thus intimidated, dispersed and fled. The majority, rescued from their attempts, freely and peaceably returned to the chamber of their sittings, and heard the propositions which were intended for the public safety, deliberated upon them, and prepared those salutary resolutions, which are to become the new and provisional laws of the Republic. — Frenchmen! you will doubtless recognize in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of Liberty, and a citizen devoted to the Republic. Views directed to conservation, to protection, to liberal purposes, will resume their due influence by the dispersion of incendiaries who oppressed the Council; and who, though they rendered themselves the most odious, never ceased to be the most contemptible of mankind.

(Signed)

“ BONAPARTE.

“ ALEX. BERTHIER.”

Whilst the Council of Five Hundred was engaged in composing its address to the people, and Bonaparte busied himself in promulgating his proclamation, the Council of Ancients was employed in discussing the decree sent to them from the Council of Five Hundred: at one o'clock in the morning the Council of Ancients announced their approbation, and the Three Consuls repaired to the Council of Five Hundred, when the President, Lucien Bonaparte, thus addressed them:

“ CITIZENS!

“ The greatest nation upon earth consigns to you its

destinies ; within three months the public opinion will judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the distresses of the armies, and *peace*, all these are entrusted to your care. You must have courage and zeal to accept this important duty and such exalted functions ; but you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies ; in addition to which, it is well known to the legislature that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The Consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and returned to Paris about four in the morning of the 11th of November, and entered upon their functions immediately. The seal of the Republic was changed, the newspapers were stopped at the post-office, and re-printed, for the purpose of making known to the departments all that had been transacted. In the evening of the 12th the following Address from the Consuls was read throughout Paris, by torch-light :

THE CONSULS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

*" Paris, 21st Brumaire, 12th November, 8th Year  
of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

" The Constitution of the Third Year was perishing ; it could neither ensure your rights nor its own safety. Repeated violations deprived it for ever of the respect of the people ; several odious and rapacious factions desolated the Republic. France was, at last, on the very brink of total ruin.

" The patriots have agreed upon a plan. The men who might have proved dangerous to you have been discarded : those who may be useful and conduct themselves well in the national representation, have never abandoned the banners of liberty.

" Frenchmen, the Republic being permanently settled, will see the hopes of her citizens accomplished and her glorious destinies fulfilled.



**"Take with us the oath of allegiance to the Republic, one and indivisible, grounded on EQUALITY, LIBERTY, and the REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.**

(Signed)

**"ROGER DUCOS,**

**"BONAPARTE,**

**"SIEYES."\***

**("A true copy) Signed, Hugues Bernard Maret,  
Secretary-General."**

This change in the government was agreeable to the people, because the Directory, which was hated for its corruption and despised for its weakness, was thereby removed. Clamours were, however, raised by the Jacobins, because they saw their strength dwindling, and that their own designs were frustrated; but these murmurs, however, were as effectually suppressed as their efforts, by the arrest of their leaders: they had not even the means of turning popular attention to the fallen Directors; though had they once more emerged into notice, it would have only subjected them to ridicule and danger. Sieyes and Ducos were in the new Executive; and the other Ex-directors did not think fit to court popular observation. Barras had amassed a princely fortune, and consoled himself with the enjoyments which his riches offered to his voluptuousness. Gohier, the late President of the Directory, had lost, with the costume of his office, all the consequence he had derived from its distinctive character.

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\* Some time after the government of France was changed from a directory to a consulate, Bonaparte made a proposition to his colleagues, to quit the Luxembourg, which they then occupied, and make the palace of the Louvre their future residence. The Abbé Sieyes, happening to be present on this occasion, exclaimed—"What! shall Consuls become the inmates of the habitation of a tyrant?" "Sir," answered Bonaparte, drily, and in a tone of voice that spoke the sentiments then rising in his soul, "if I had been Louis the Sixteenth, I should still have remained such; and if it had ever been my lot to say mass, I should still continue to do the same." There is little doubt but the arch-priest Sieyes felt the full force of this well-merited sarcasm.

Moulin was so much the creature of fear, that, having fled from his post in the hour of danger, he trembled lest the new Consuls should seek to punish him.

The Revolution of the EIGHTEENTH and NINETEENTH Brumaire is remarkable for having been accomplished without the effusion of human blood, or any sanguinary punishment. The bayonet which was displayed, produced as much respect as a more legitimate argument, and it was not used, because no resistance could be opposed to it, by an assembly of men in whom the people placed no further confidence. Napoleon and the army were the founders of the new form of government, and military pomp, accompanied by all the necessary etiquette, were combined in the display of its magisterial functions.

## CHAP. VIII.

*NAPOLEON's sentiments respecting the Eighteenth Brumaire—First Steps adopted by the Consular Government—Lenient Measures pursued in regard to the Priesthood and Emigrants—Contrary Policy manifested, relative to French Prisoners in England—Financial Arrangements—Stability of the New Order of Things—Abstract of the Consular Form of Government—Rœderer's Analysis of the Constitution—Caricatures on the Directory—Character of the Parisians—Cambaceres, Le Brun, and Abbé Sieyès—National Donation awarded to the last mentioned Statesman, and an Account of his political Career—Arrangement of the Council of State—BONAPARTE's Proclamations to the Generals and Soldiers—Sabre presented to General St. Cyr, and NAPOLEON's Letter to Augereau on his Appointment to the Command of the Batavian Army—Letter of the First Consul to the Magistrates of Hamburgh, on the Subject of Napper Tandy's Arrest—Religion tolerated, and Endeavours of the several Sects to acquire supreme Ascendency—NAPOLEON enters into Negotiations for Peace, which are rejected by England and the Court of Vienna—Efforts resorted to by Great Britain and France for the Recommencement of Hostilities—Reflections on the political Change effected by NAPOLEON in France—Termination of Hostilities in La Vendée—BONAPARTE sets forward to take the Command of the Army of Italy.*

THE Revolution of the Eighteenth Brumaire, which we have detailed in the foregoing chapter, proved so replete with political interest to France, and subsequently to the whole of Europe, that we should esteem ourselves

wanting in due attention to the reader, did we not insert Napoleon's opinions on that momentous topic, as handed down in the journals of Count Las Cases.

"The determination adopted by Napoleon," says our authority, "to associate himself with the moderate party, subjected him to many dangers. With the Jacobins he would have experienced none, they having tendered him the post of *Dictator*—'But,' said the Emperor, 'having conquered in conjunction with them, it would have been necessary almost immediately to have combated against them. A club does not support a permanent leader, it requires a chief for every passion. Consequently, to have recourse to a faction one day, and attack it the next, be the pretext what it may, is always an act of treachery; and such was never one of my principles of action.'

"On another occasion," says the Count, "after advertling to the transactions of Brumaire, Napoleon observed as follows: 'As regards myself, the only part which I took in executing the plot was, the uniting at a given hour all those connected with me, and marching at their head to take possession of the government. It was from the threshold of my door, from the summit of the flight of steps, and without giving any previous notice, that I conducted them to that conquest; it was in the midst of that brilliant escort, accompanied by the general joy, and the unanimous ardour which was manifested, that I presented myself at the bar of the Assembly of Ancients, to return thanks for the *Dictatorship* wherewith they had invested me.'

"'It has, and will long continue to be metaphysically disputed,' continued the Emperor, 'whether we did not violate the laws, and prove ourselves criminal; but they are only so many abstractions, good for pamphlets and tribunes, which must disappear when opposed to the urgent necessity of the period; as well might one accuse the mariner, who cuts away the masts in order to preserve

the ship from being wrecked. The simple fact is, *without us the game was lost, and we saved it.*

"The First Consul," says Count Las Cases in his Memorial, "on arriving at the Tuileries, succeeded to storms and manners which he was resolved to change. He had hitherto been uniformly in the armies; he knew no one, and it was that circumstance which greatly embarrassed him. Lebrun, was at that period a very precious guide to his inexperience; bankers and men of business were then the leaders of the *ton*; and scarcely had the First Consul been named, before many of them presented themselves to tender great pecuniary loans. "The First Consul," continues our authority, "had a natural antipathy to such intriguing men of business; having made it his study to adopt different principles to those which had actuated Scherer, Barras, and the Directory. He was anxious that probity should become the leading spring and character of his new government. Bonaparte also found himself immediately environed by the wives of government contractors, who were for the most part gifted with external fascinations, heightened by elegance of manners, and all the auxiliaries of the most bewitching costume. But the rigid Lebrun was there to guide his youthful Telemachus, and he was resolved they should not be admitted into the societies of the Tuileries."

The new Consuls entered immediately upon the exercise of their functions; it had been settled that there should be no President of the Consulate, but that one Consul should be constantly employed on his duty, and each attend in rotation. Maret, who had been ambassador at Naples, was appointed Secretary-general of the Consulate.

Intermediate commissions of the Councils of Ancients and Five Hundred assembled, and passed some resolutions, abrogating former obnoxious decrees, substituting

a war tax in lieu of a forced loan, ordering the payment of the annuities and pensions in a more regular and equitable manner, and adopting a new system of finance. The decisive measures of the new government revived public confidence, and the funds rose very rapidly, whilst its temper towards those who were not likely to approve its proceedings was manifested, by a decree, ordering the deportation of thirty-seven persons to Cayenne, while twenty-two were sentenced to imprisonment: amongst the latter number were Arena, F. Lepelletier, Briot, Santhonax, and General Jourdan. The name of the latter was afterwards erased: "He has fallen into errors," said the Consuls, "but he has always been a good defender of the Republic." They, however, finally revoked the decree against the whole number.

Religion was early attended to by the Consular Government, and the reconciliation of the priests to the new order of affairs was attempted, in consequence of a report of Fouché, relative to the banished ecclesiastics. It was declared by the Minister of Police, "that there were undoubtedly a great number of priests dangerous disturbers of public tranquillity, whom authority should watch with unceasing vigilance, and sometimes punish; but that there were also among them men of peaceable dispositions, and obedient to the laws, who would have served the Republic, if they had not, by some oppressive measures, suffered the greatest violence in their dearest affections and most ancient habits; such was the deplorable effect of the coercive measures resorted to during the tempest of the Revolution. Public pity for persecuted priests had awakened the energies of justice against the intolerant and fanatic among them; and superstition was reviving, even then, the recollection of all the proscriptions exercised upon the ministers of worship." The Consuls, therefore, decreed, that the arrears of the Directory relative to the priests were repealed, that all those churchmen who had taken the oath equally

with those who had married, and were imprisoned, should be released.

Before the Consulate was appointed, the Legislative Bodies had often discussed the case of some unhappy emigrants, who had been unfortunately shipwrecked on their native shores : nothing, however, had been finally decided respecting them, for the Jacobins would have sent them to the guillotine ; and the Moderatists, to preserve them from so cruel a fate, contrived to postpone the deliberations. The emigrants had remained upwards of three years in close confinement at Calais, and were afterwards removed to the castle of Ham, in Picardy. The Consuls, by a humane decree, declared, that their case was in no instance anticipated by the laws respecting emigrants ; that it was contrary to the rights of polished nations to take advantage of the accident of shipwreck, and surrender up, to the just operation of the laws, unfortunate persons who had escaped from the waves ; and that, therefore, they should be released, and sent from the territory of the Republic. This was an easy and an honourable method of obtaining the friendship of an enemy ; in this case, not only pity was exhibited in an act of mercy towards the unhappy ; but from that quarter whence vengeance rather than forbearance might have been expected.

Whilst exercising this act of clemency to a few miserable emigrants, the Consuls published the following notice relative to the French prisoners in England :

“ The Consuls have notified to the English Government, that, from the 22d December, all the expenses requisite for the maintenance of French prisoners in England shall be at the charge of the *British* Government.”

(Signed)

Hughes Bernard Maret,  
Secretary-General.

“ BONAPARTE,  
“ SIEYES,  
“ ROGER DUCOS.”

By what policy and by what humanity this determination was dictated, the arguments which were used at the time will show. They are curious, because they manifest an excessive refinement of principle, that has been equally admired and condemned.

In reference to the above statement respecting the priests and emigrants, the following anecdote is stated to have taken place between Fouché and the First Consul.

Fouché stood forward as the great advocate and protector of the Republican party, and while defending their cause, the Chief Consul, upon one occasion, answered him with some asperity: "The Republicans do not love me." "True," answered Fouché; "they say that you are the high-priest of superstition; however they remain passive. But how do you think the emigrants, the royalists, and the priests act whom you think fit to protect?" Upon which Fouché, taking various papers from his pocket, containing evident proofs of the evil intentions of the parties he alluded to, added: "Look here, Sir, and here, these papers will afford you sufficient information!"

It was by no means difficult for the new Government to obtain popularity amongst a people who had been harassed and fatigued with the violence and the inconsistencies of ten governments, during a period of as many years. The French had been delivered up to the cupidity and the cruelty of every adventurer who had attained power, and whose venality and rapacity were increased by the knowledge that the reign of his own party would be terminated by a faction equally hungry and remorseless; they had been governed by wretches, who were busied in turning the heads of the people, that they might elevate themselves into place upon their shoulders. This multiplied succession of profligacy was stopped by the Revolution of the eighteenth Brumaire. The new arrangements were more masterly, men less obnoxious were nominated to situations of trust, and business was despatched with greater celerity. Obedience being enforced by the



bayonet, the unruly were awed; and, as no one was permitted to rebel in the name of the nation, the people respected the authority which rendered their property secure.

Finance had Bonaparte's early and earnest attention. He caused resolutions to be passed, in the Council of Five Hundred, whereby the Receivers-general of the departments were authorized to subscribe bonds for the amount of the direct taxes of their respective departments, which should be payable by twelve monthly instalments: they were directed to furnish a twentieth part in specie of the amount of the land-tax, to be applied as a sinking fund for the extinction of the public debt. The arrears of life-annuities and ecclesiastical pensions, as they became extinguished, were to be applied to the same purposes, and to the liquidation of protested bonds.

When the public saw the national debts put in a course of extinction by adequate funds, the Government found it no very difficult task to borrow more money. Bonaparte appointed a meeting of the principal merchants and bankers of Paris, and laid before them the necessities of the Government, and the claims which it had on the confidence of the public, and hinted the probability of a glorious and equitable peace. He assured them, that the reign of plunder was ended, that spoliation of property could never occur under the new system of affairs, that talent alone would rule, and intrigue be abandoned; but that, to accomplish these various laudable objects, the public treasury must have recourse to commercial men for an advance of money until the new taxes were paid. The meeting, which consisted of about seventy of the wealthiest individuals in Paris, voted, by acclamation, a loan of twelve millions of livres; and Fubchiren, Recamier, Doyen, Perregaux, Mullet, Germain, and Dessart, were nominated a commission of seven, to put the plan into immediate effect.

Talleyrand shortly after resumed his situation at the head of the foreign affairs. Citizen Grenville was de-

spatched ambassador to Holland, and Citizen Bourgoing to Denmark. General Bonnaudville was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and Citizen Colchen, his secretary of legation; other arrangements were also made in the foreign department, preparatory to a new system of diplomacy.

Whilst a few abstruse thinkers presaged the reign of a new despotism, the change was heard of with joy in the remotest departments. The different authorities throughout the Republic declared in its favour, and the sentiments of the bulk of the people co-operated with them: they saw that public offices were not saleable, that the delinquency of persons in situations of trust was punished by their removal; and they relied upon a Government that had produced some good for effecting more. Those who had really experienced benefits cared not by what means their consequences had been secured, they appeared to think that they had contended long enough about modes of government; and that as their forms had produced only a variation of their oppressions, that which was best administered must be the most efficacious.

At length, on the 22d Frimaire, (13th December,) the public curiosity was gratified by an extensive circulation of the following Address:

THE CONSULS OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE FRENCH.

" A CONSTITUTION is presented to you for your acceptance.

" It puts an end to the uncertainties which the temporary government occasioned in our foreign political transactions, and in the internal and military situation of the Republic.

" It establishes, in its institutions, the appointment of the first magistrates, whose devoted zeal has been thought necessary to its activity.

" *The Constitution is grounded on the true principles*

*of a representative government, on the sacred rights of property, of equality, and of liberty.*

“The powers which it institutes will be vigorous and permanent, such as they should be to ensure the rights of citizens, and the interests of the state.

“Citizens! THE REVOLUTION is fixed on the principles from which it originated:—IT IS ENDED.”

The Constitution itself formed ninety-five articles, which were arranged in seven chapters. It was dated Paris, the 22d Frimaire, and was signed by the members of the Legislative Committees: the signatures of the Consuls were subscribed; last, the annexed note being an abstract of the leading features of this consular code.\*

#### \* THE CONSULAR CONSTITUTION.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC is one and indivisible.

Every man born and resident in France, and of the age of twenty-one years, who has inscribed his name in the civic register of his communal district, and afterwards remained a year on the territory of the Republic, is a *French citizen*; while a foreigner becomes a French citizen, who, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and declared his intention of fixing his residence in France, has resided there for ten successive years.

The title of French citizen is forfeited by various acts, and also by a state of hired servitude, either attached to the service of the person or the family.

The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting the public affairs. There shall be a list containing a number of names equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the right of suffrage, and from this first communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be selected.

The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall also appoint a tenth of their number; these shall constitute a second list, called The Departmental List, from which the public functionaries of each department shall be taken.

The citizens included in the Departmental List shall also appoint a tenth of their number; this third list shall consist of the citizens of each department eligible to public national functions.

The citizens who shall have a right of co-operating in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles shall, every third year, be called upon to exercise the power of replacing those who have died or absented themselves for any other cause than the exercise of a public function.

**The Constitution was published at Paris on the 14th of December, with great pomp ; and a decree immediately**

The **CONSERVATORY SENATE** shall be composed of twenty-four members, of forty years of age, at least, to be stationary during life.

For the formation of the Senate there shall be nominated, in the first instance, sixty members ; this number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the eighth year, to sixty-four in the ninth, and shall be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members in each of the ten first years.

The nomination to the office of senator shall be by the Senate, who shall make choice out of three candidates presented to them ; the first by the Legislative Body, the second by the Tribunal, and the third by the Chief Consul.

They shall only choose from two candidates if one of them is proposed by two of the three authorities presenting them.

The Chief Consul, upon quitting his office, either upon the expiration of his function or by resigning, necessarily, and as a matter of right, becomes a senator. The two other Consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take their seats in the Senate, but are not obliged to exercise that privilege : they lose it altogether if they quit the consular functions by resignation.

The revenues of national domains, the terms of which are expired, shall be liable to the expenses of the Senate ; the annual salary of each of its members shall be paid out of those revenues ; it shall be equal to a twentieth of that of the Chief Consul.

The sittings of the Senate are not public.

Citizens Sieyès and Roger Ducos, the two Consuls who are to go out of office, shall be nominated members of the Conservatory Senate ; they shall unite with the Second and Third Consuls nominated by that now in existence. These four citizens shall appoint the majority of the Senate, which shall afterwards complete itself and proceed to the elections entrusted to its direction.

No new law shall be promulgated unless the plan shall have been proposed by the Government, communicated to the Tribunal, and decreed by the Legislative Body.

The **TRIBUNATE** is to be composed of one hundred members, of twenty-five years of age and upwards ; they shall be renewed by fifths every year, and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list.

The Tribunal shall discuss the plans of every law that may be proposed ; it shall vote for the adoption or rejection of them, and shall send three orators to the Legislative Body to state and support its plans. It shall express its opinion as to the laws made or to be made, the abuses to be corrected, the ameliorations to be attempted in every department of public administration, but never relative to the civil or criminal affairs referred to the tribunals. The opinions it shall promulgate are to be followed by no necessary consequence ; they compel no constituted authority to come to any deliberation.

The **LEGISLATIVE BODY** shall be composed of three hundred members, of thirty years of age and upwards ; who shall be renewed, by fifths, every year. There ought always to be one citizen,

followed, which ordained, that the different civil officers should open registers of acceptance and non-acceptance, to remain open fifteen days, for the signatures of the citizens.

Roederer's Analysis of the Consular Constitution of France is deserving of preservation, because it is simple, and easily committed to memory. He estimated the male inhabitants of age, and paying duties as a qualification to vote, at 5,000,000 citizen voters, who reduced themselves to 500,000 Notables of Communes; who reduced themselves to 50,000 Notables of Departments; who were reduced to 5,000 Notables of France; from whom were chosen 500 Legislators, Senate and Tribunate; and also 80 Conservators; 2 Puisne Consuls; and 1 Grand Consul; who chose 30 Counsellors of State, and the ministers, ambassadors, commissioners, &c. The Senate and the Tribunate were not chosen by the five thousand Notables of France, but out of that class. A body of eighty members,

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at least, of each department of the Republic present. The sittings of the Legislative Body shall in every year continue only four months.

The Legislative Body enacts the law by secret scrutiny, and without any discussion on the part of its members, upon the plans of the law debated before it, by the orators of the Tribunate and the Government.

The sittings of the Tribunate and of the Legislative Body shall be public; the number of strangers in either of them not to exceed two hundred. The annual salary of a Tribune shall be 15,000 francs, £625; of a Legislator, 10,000 francs, £416.

Every decree of the Legislative Body shall be promulgated by the Chief Consul, unless it is referred to the Senate on the plea of being unconstitutional.

The first renewal of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate shall not take place till the tenth year of the Republic.

The GOVERNMENT is entrusted to THREE CONSULS, appointed for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible: each of them is to be elected individually, with the distinct quality of Chief, Second, or Third Consul. The first time the Third Consul shall only be named for five years.

For the present time General BONAPARTE is appointed CHIEF CONSUL; Citizen CAMBACERES, now Minister of Justice, *Second Consul*; and Citizen LEBRUN, member of the Committee of Ancients, *Third Consul*.

first constituted representatives of the nation, either by a competent election or the acquiescence of the people, under the title of Conservators, chose, first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power; and, secondly, the Three Chiefs of the executive power (Consuls), the first of whom afterwards named the ministers and other agents of the Government.

A great portion of time was occupied by the Legislative Bodies in settling the formalities which should present the authorities under the new Constitution in great parade and splendour to the people. It was appointed that the Consuls and the Conservative Senate should enter upon their functions the 4th Nivose, 8th year (25th December, 1799). The Consuls were to furnish the Conservative Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunal, with a guard of honour.—The Luxembourg was appointed the palace of the Conservative Senate; the Tuileries the palace of the Consuls; the palace of the Council of Five Hundred was for the Legislative Body; and the Palais Royal was assigned to the Tribunal. Messengers of state and ushers were also attached to these different functionaries.

It was not enough, however, that palaces should be the dwellings of the new officers of the Republic: the pomp and circumstances of official dignity were still further increased by the new dresses, which, after mature deliberation of the Commission of Five Hundred, were decreed should be worn by the legislative as well as the executive bodies; and even the secretaries, messengers, and ushers, were assigned their costumes.

Three days after the Constitution was issued the troops were assembled in the Champ de Mars, and sworn to be faithful to the new Government. The oath to be tendered to the magistrates and citizens became a subject of discussion, which ended by a law being passed applicable to all those who had been previously bound to take an oath, and which reduced the different formulas of oaths

and declarations to one only. The Constitution being considered the elementary rule of the duties of magistrates and citizens, the explicit promise of being faithful to the Constitution included the object of the former laws. It was then decreed by the new law, that the members and officers of the Government, the ministers of every religious sect, and the tutors of youth, should solemnly make the following declaration: "I promise to be faithful to the Constitution," and that every other oath or declaration should be abolished. If there exists a necessity for an oath under any government, supposed to be founded on the will of the people, that which was thus adopted by the Consular Government of France is, perhaps, the most simple and the least exceptionable of any that can be taken for a model.

Accustomed to change, and delighted with novelty, the Parisians received the new Constitution, and viewed the splendour of the Government with self-complacency rather than with surprise; they read, talked, and drank their coffee, and laughed. They reasoned very little, but they hoped a great deal. Bonaparte was their idol, and they expected him to do every thing for the happiness and honour of the nation. They joked upon the old Directory, and indulged their humour in bon-mots and in caricatures: two of those prints, very well executed, then formed a part of the decorations of most parlours in Paris. One represented a Jew, with a great quantity of finery, being the costume of the ex-directors, and ex-legislators, he was in the act of crying, "Old clothes to sell, as good as new:" the other, also, displayed an Israelite carrying an enormous load of constitutions and laws, and bawling, "Old constitutions and decrees to sell, very little used, and very cheap." Perhaps the author of the following statement, placarded during the night in the streets of Paris, was not quite so much disposed to serve the interests of the new Government.

" POLITICAL SUBTRACTION.

From.... 5.... Directors

Take.... 2,

—

and there remains.... 3.... Consuls :

From them take.... 2,

—

and there remains.... 1.... BONAPARTE!"

This political *badinage* suited the taste, the leisure, and playfulness of mind, of the Parisians. It is in Paris, says an acute writer, that the French should be studied, because they are more French there than elsewhere. Yielding, alternatively and with caprice, to dissipation, ambition, or what they denominate philosophy; that is moodiness and misanthropy; borne away by pleasure: now tormented by things of moment, and then by fanciful frivolities, their ideas are unconnected and contradictory, yet successively appear of equal preponderance in their estimation.

At Paris men feel more than they think, act more than they plan, and plan more than they determine: they merely esteem talents, and the arts of taste; scarcely appreciating such as are necessary, which they enjoy without comprehending.

Cambaceres was minister of justice at the time the new Constitution appointed him Second Consul. Neither of the other consuls had been members of the National Convention; Cambaceres was the only one out of the three, who had voted on the trial of the King. He declared his opinion that Louis the XVIth should be confined, but not executed, unless the Republican territory were invaded by a foreign enemy. He was a man of more suavity of manners than vigour of intellect.

Le Brun, the Third Consul, possessed considerable talents, and was one of the members of the Committee of Ancients. He had formerly been Secretary to the Chan-



cellor Maupeou, the most arbitrary and tyrannical of the ministers of Louis the XVth. He had the reputation of uniting application with ability.

Before Cambaceres and Le Brun were appointed Consuls under Bonaparte, Sieyes had been prevailed on to decline the Consulate; this point was not difficult to effect; as he found himself completely in the power of Bonaparte, because the latter was the man who possessed most influence with the people. The retirement of Sieyes is a memorable event in the History of France since the Revolution, because he had retained a very great share of power over the executive Government at most periods since its commencement, and he now suddenly became divested of it altogether.

On the 20th of December a message was read to the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred, stating, that the Consuls unanimously joined in a wish, manifested by the two Legislative Committees, that it should decree to Citizen Sieyes a distinguished proof of national gratitude. "The citizen," says the message, "who, after having enlightened the people by his writings, and honoured the Revolution by his disinterested virtues, refused, in the first instance, the First Magistracy, and then only consented to accept it in consequence of his sense of the dangers by which it was surrounded, is assuredly worthy of the distinction which it is your desire should be conferred upon him, and which it will be impossible for him to refuse, when the organs of the law shall have declared the decision of the Legislature. The Consuls of the Republic, therefore, for the purpose of carrying your wish into effect, and, in conformity with the law of the 19th Brumaire, submit to you the necessary and formal proposition of decreeing to Citizen Sieyes, as a pledge of national gratitude, the right of property to one of the domains at the disposal of the state."

This message, signed by Bonaparte and Roger Ducos, having been read, was referred to the Section of Finance,

which, in its report thereon, addressed the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred.

The result was that the Commission, taking into consideration the urgency with respect to the stability of every political institution, of conferring a signal mark of gratitude on those citizens who had rendered great services to the country, adopted the following

RESOLUTION :

“ The *National Domain* of CROSNE, in the department of the Seine and Oise, or some other estate, altogether equivalent in value to the same, is decreed, with the right of property full and entirely, to CITIZEN SIEYES, under the title of ‘ *National Recompense*.’

The Committee of the Council of Five Hundred immediately passed the resolution which conferred Crosne upon Sieyes, as a national recompense; but which he could not take possession of until the death of the ci-devant Marquis and Marchioness de Brancas, who had a life interest in the same.

Sieyes signified his acceptance of the estate by the following letter, addressed

TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

“ Citizens Representatives,

“ The Minister of Justice has just transmitted the law, decreeing to me a national reward :

“ Permit me to express, how deeply I am penetrated with gratitude for so honourable a mark of your esteem.”

(Health and respect)

“ SIEYES.”

Few men who were engaged in the Revolution had more entirely devoted themselves to politics than Sieyes; and he is one of the many instances of individuals who have risen by talents and superior genius to considerable rank as statemen.\*

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\* As no individual made a more conspicuous figure in the annals of

By a decree of the Consuls, bearing date the third Nivose (the 4th December), the Council of State was ar-

the Republican system, than Abbé Sieyes, we deem the following note essentially necessary, as it throws considerable light on the progress of the French revolution from its earliest period.

SIEYES was born at Frejus, in the year 1748, being the town where Bonaparte landed on his return from Egypt. Educated for the priesthood, he took orders, was preferred to be a vicar-general, and subsequently a canon: he then rose to the chancellorship of the cathedral of Chartres; and was, at length, invested with the permanent administrative employment of counsellor-commissary in Paris. To this was added that of the diocese of Chartres, a post never given but to the superior clergy of France. Sieyes was esteemed a learned civilian and canonist, and possessed a considerable share of knowledge in the belles-lettres; his favourite studies, however, were politics, metaphysics, and economics. He spent the greatest part of his time in Paris, where he associated with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other literati. He was also a member of the Economical Society, which held its sittings in the hotel of the Chancellor Segurier.

Notwithstanding his excellent qualifications and connexions, it is probable that Sieyes would not have emerged from obscurity if the Revolution had not brought him into a situation to display his talents. Being appointed deputy to the States General, he began his career by a publication, entitled, "What is the Tiers État?" This work became, at the time, the most fashionable book in Paris.

After the meeting of the *Tiers État* at Versailles, Sieyes was the person who proposed that they should call themselves "The Assembly of the Representatives of the French People;" and he supported his project with considerable ability.

When the misunderstanding between the orders in the States General assumed a serious aspect, and troops environed the capital, the deputies on the popular side had reason to be apprehensive for their safety. Sieyes, in the sitting of the 8th of July, stated to the Assembly, that no troops should be allowed to approach nearer than ten leagues to the town in which the States General were sitting; and he proposed an address to the King, desiring that he would order the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Versailles.

Sometime previously to the month of October, when the King was attacked in his palace by the mob, a secret committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the Abbe Sieyes, was formed in a village near Paris. They had agreed upon a scheme for placing the Duke of Orleans in so distinguished a situation in the government, that he could not fail to have the command of the populace, and, consequently, possess a decisive weight in the National Assembly; Sieyes was then a zealous Royalist.

In the year 1791, when it was thought that the King, by attempting his escape, had abdicated the crown, a combination was formed, consisting of Condorcet and Brissot in France, and of Tom Paine in England, for the publication of a periodical paper, under the title of "*The Republican*." Sieyes actually published some answers to papers which appeared in this publication, and declared his intentions to support a monarchy against a republic, by every means in his power.

ranged. An immense concourse of people attended the installation of their three rulers, which took place on the

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Sieyès was the author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which was decreed by the National Assembly. It was written in his usual metaphysical style, and excited very different sensations in every country of Europe. In 1792, Sieyès was appointed a member of the National Convention. When that body voted respecting the punishment due to Louis, such was the influence of Sieyès, that a great number of members reserved themselves till they had heard his fiat. It was, consequently, understood, that upon his opinion would depend the fate of the King.—Sieyès at length, mounted the tribune; an awful silence pervaded the anxious Assembly, when he interrupted the solemn pause with these four emphatic words, *La mort sans phrase*: Death without further comment! and instantly withdrew.

From that time Sieyès was so far concealed from the public eye that it was not known whether he was dead or alive. The Parisians reported, that he directed, from his philosophical retreat, many of the atrocities which were committed under the reign of Robespierre, but of this there appears no proof whatsoever. From the death of that tyrant till February 1795, he still remained behind the curtain, and did not appear upon the stage until certain there was no danger of the Mountain-party regaining an ascendancy. In order to apologise for having thus absented himself from business for the space of two years, he published Memoirs of his own Life, the substance of which publication was to lament that the Mountain party had abused his definitions of the Rights of Man; and to state that his system had been intended only as the skeleton of civil society.

From the period in question began the most brilliant career of Sieyès's public life. Having obtained the esteem and confidence of his colleagues, he was fixed upon to regulate the external relations of the Republic. It was he who suggested the scheme of concluding separate treaties with the coalesced powers with a view to create such misunderstandings as would prove fatal to the royal confederacy. The subsequent conduct of the European cabinets appeared for a time to evince that Sieyès was right in his conjectures, and proved, that a vicar of Chartres had outwitted all the experienced statesmen in Europe.

So signal were the services performed by Sieyès to his country, that, when the new constitution was adopted, the popular votes elected him one of the five members of the Executive Directory, which post he, however, declined. In February, 1796, he was appointed member of the National Institute, in the class of metaphysics and morals; and, by an unaccountable singularity of choice, the very same man who had declined a place in the Executive Directory of the Republic accepted the chair of literature in the central school of the Mazarine College.

It was said, in May, 1796, that Sieyès brought about the peace concluded between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia; which is highly probable, since he continued to manage the external policy of the Directory, nearly in the same manner as he had formerly directed that of the Committee of Public Safety. A treaty so dis-

fourth Nivose, accompanied by great pomp and parade. At the first sitting of the Council of State, Bonaparte

graceful to an independent sovereign could scarcely have been wished for, even by the most inveterate Republican.

In the spring of 1797, Sieyes very narrowly escaped assassination, from a pistol, discharged by the Abbé Poulle. During the latter part of that year he was abused by so many lampoons and pasquinades, that he retired from Paris, and did not dare to quit his retreat, until the violent crisis of the 4th of September, when he became one of the most active members of the Legislature. After that he was appointed ambassador to the court of Berlin, where he rendered essential service to the Republic, by his exertions to preserve the friendship of the King of Prussia, which remained indissoluble during a most momentous contest. It has been reasonably conjectured, that the King of Prussia was not unacquainted with the projects of Sieyes in regard to the Revolution, and it is certain, that a very extraordinary and marked respect was paid to him while he resided in Prussia. During his mission to Berlin, the anniversary of the King's birth-day occurred: Sieyes went to court; and, on his arrival, the other ambassadors had taken their seats. The chamberlain of state was much embarrassed, not knowing where to place the French envoy without interrupting the diplomatic coterie. Sieyes immediately said, "*No matter—the first place will always be that occupied by an ambassador of the French Republic;*" and he, with much good humour, took the earliest vacancy that presented itself. On his return to France, the King of Prussia not only attended the Abbé in person, to the frontiers of his territory, but presented him with his portrait, set in gold, and richly ornamented with diamonds.

Sieyes was then elected one of the Directory, where his influence was unbounded; and he gave accelerated motion to the wheels of government. Thus situated, he found little difficulty in obtaining means, in conjunction with Bonaparte, to effect the revolution of Brumaire. He had sufficient influence not only with the Directory, but in the Councils, to carry almost any measure he chose. This influence he turned to the accomplishment of his designs, without being then suspected of any intentions inimical to the constitution, which we now see it was his fixed determination to overthrow.

Sieyes does not appear at any time to have possessed the affections of the French people. Never humouring their follies, and being reserved and ambitious, they always viewed him with jealousy; in short, the assistance of a man possessed of Bonaparte's popularity, seemed absolutely necessary to ensure the success of his projects.

The meed of patriotism has been awarded to Abbé Sieyes for having sacrificed his personal aggrandizement for the benefit and tranquillity of the French nation. The general opinion, however, is, that he had too far unmasked himself to Bonaparte to be enabled to retreat; and never was a politician more belied than Sieyes, if in his forwarding the views of Napoleon he did not unintentionally commit the act of political suicide. This acute and designing politician was afterwards chosen by the Conservative Senate as their President; but his career as a statesman had terminated, and he ended by becoming a simple senator.

presided as First Magistrate of the Republic, accompanied by his two brother Consuls and the several Ministers of Government, who presented their various reports; and in the evening Proclamations appeared in Paris, which were disseminated in prodigious quantities throughout the departments.

Fully aware that the consolidation of power could not be effected amidst the struggles of contending factions, Napoleon courted the applause of the army, and sought to ingratiate himself with all the leading generals. By promotions and rewards he secured the approbation of his officers; and the ensuing Proclamation, which was widely disseminated among the troops flattered the vanity, while it excited the emulation of the private soldiers.

*“ Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to the French  
Soldiery.*

“ SOLDIERS!

“ When I promised peace to the French nation, I spoke your sentiments; I knew your courage: you are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, and Italy, and who commanded peace before the walls of terrified Vienna.

“ Soldiers! you must not defend your frontiers now; you must invade the territories of your enemy.

“ There is not one among you who has not made several campaigns, who is not convinced that the first quality of a soldier is that of putting up with inconveniencies without regret.

“ Several years of bad administration cannot be effaced in a day.

“ First Magistrate of the Republic, it will be highly gratifying to me in letting the whole nation know which are the troops entitled by their discipline and their courage, to be proclaimed the defenders of the country.

" Soldiers ! in due time I will be among you ; and Europe shall remember that you belong to a race of heroes.

(Signed) " BONAPARTE."

*Paris, 25th Dec. 8th Year.*

Massena, having been appointed to the command of the army of Italy, was introduced to his comrades by a message from the First Consul; a recommendation the more flattering to the new commandant, as it was well received by the soldiers. Bonaparte had fought and conquered with them; they owed their victories to his valour and his genius, and they, therefore, hailed with respect, and cheered with enthusiasm the following

#### PROCLAMATION:

*" Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to the Army of Italy.*

" SOLDIERS !

" The circumstances which keep me at the head of government prevent me from being among you.

" Your wants are great: every measure is taken to assist you.

" The first qualities of a soldier are constancy and discipline: courage follows.

" Soldiers! several corps have deserted their posts; they have been deaf to the voice of their officers. The 17th light demi-brigade is among that number.

" Are then the heroes of Castiglione, of Rivoli, and of Newmarck dead; they would have perished rather than desert their banners; and prevailed upon their young comrades to remain faithful to honour and their duty.

" Soldiers! you say that you are often deprived of your allowances: what would you have done, if, like the 4th and 22d, and the 18th and the 82d demi-brigades of the line, you had found yourselves in the midst of a de-

sert, without bread or water, eating horse's and mule's flesh? *Victory will give us bread*, they exclaimed; yet, you! you desert your banners!

"Soldiers of the army of Italy, a new General (Massena) commands you; he was always foremost in your most glorious days. Rely on him; he will soon again render you victorious.

"I shall order that a daily report be made to me concerning the conduct of all the corps, and chiefly of the 17th and 63d of the line. They will recollect my former confidence in them.

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE."

"The Commander-in-Chief of the army of Italy shall direct that the above Proclamation of the First Consul of the Republic be mentioned and inserted in the general orders, and read to every company.

"ALEX. BERTHIER, Minister of War."

An elegant sabre which had been intended as a donation to the Grand Signior, until the expedition to Egypt rendered French presents unacceptable to the Porte, was also sent to General St. Cyr, by order of Bonaparte.

General Angereau received the command of the army of Holland, which was announced to him by a public act of the First Consul, who also forwarded the following letter upon that occasion:

"MY DEAR COMRADE,

"Show, in all the actions you perform, and in the plenitude of your command, that you rank above those petty divisions of the tribunes, the shocks from which have unfortunately disunited France for the last ten years. Should circumstances compel me to renew the war of my own accord, rest assured, that I shall not leave you in Holland, and that I shall never forget the glorious battle of Castiglione."



Bonaparte, while conciliating the disposition of the French people, received from the Burgomasters of Hamburg a submissive appeal on the unfortunate arrest of Napper Tandy and his comrades in that city. They deprecated the displeasure of the new government, and hoped that the Consuls would exculpate them from any charges of insult towards the French nation, and relieve the inhabitants from the apprehensions of severity which were entertained owing to the violent denunciations of the Directory; the answer of Bonaparte proved as laconic, as the letter of the Hamburgers was verbose:

“Your letter, gentlemen,” said he, “is no justification of your conduct.

“It is by courage and virtue that states are preserved; cowardice and vice prove their ruin.

“You have violated the laws of hospitality; such a violation would not have taken place among the barbarian hordes of the desert. Your fellow citizens will impute it to you as an eternal reproach.

“The two unfortunate men whom you have given up will die illustrious; but their blood will be a source of greater evils to their persecutors, than could be brought upon them by a whole army.”

The hopes of the Hamburgers were abated by the firmness of the Chief Consul; and as they could not escape the vengeance of the Republic, they awaited in sadness and in silence the result of its displeasure.

Religion, under the Consuls, was no longer an object of persecution but of care. Free toleration of opinion grounded upon liberty of conscience, and secured by liberty of worship, seemed to promise a jubilee to the harassed devotees.

Long had the whole French nation lain under the imputation of being Atheists—a God-abandoned people—a horde of irreligious miscreants. The devout were, therefore, flattered by the regulations of the Consuls, which promised to their hopes a renewal of the former character

of the French for religion and piety, and a revival of a regular and "most Christian" government.

Already did the true Catholics anticipate the re-establishment of papacy as the national religion:—"For," said they, "how can a country stand without religion; and, as there is no salvation but within the pale of the Catholic church, the government cannot establish any other faith but ours?" They defined the rights of the religious and the duties of the sectaries and the sceptics.

The persecution of all religion for several years had not subdued the jealousies which the devout, of different persuasions, entertained towards each other; and the conduct of the fanatics proved the folly of giving a power to any one sect of oppressing another. The Catholics hated the Protestants; the latter feared the Catholics; the philosophers despised both; and neither body was content that the others should be as free as themselves. Each was anxious to acquire and preserve a political ascendancy in the state:—every religious party began to indulge a hope of becoming the national church establishment, and of receiving its investiture from the new government;—each, therefore, intrigued for the honour of being the fulminator of the decrees of heaven, against the good sense, manly liberality, and honest sentiments of the nation; while the bulk of the people, who were to be the objects of the delusion, aided these designs by their childish desire of change.

Volney believed "in the virtue of Bonaparte, he had been his friend, and was admitted to his familiarity; wherefore as the sincere advocate of the cause of freedom himself, he uniformly continued her strenuous defender. Cherishing these opinions he was little aware of the effects produced, by the exercise of power; that remonstrance had become offensive, and that a difference in opinion was construed into an insult. Being, therefore, one day, with the Chief Consul, endeavouring to convince him of the mischief he would do to mankind, by again conferring

power on the priesthood, in admitting the most trifling of its once usurped claims, and burthening the people who were of a different creed." Bonaparte replied, "Why do you mention the people? I do but act according to their desire; a large majority of the population wishes for the re-establishment of the church." Forgetful of the possibility, or, perhaps, not suspecting that the pride of a man so recently elevated could be susceptible of a wound, Volney made answer. "Were you to act according to the will of the multitude, you would immediately cede your power: the majority of the people would vote for the restoration of the Bourbons."

The rage of the Consul, on hearing these words, became ungovernable, and the report was, that he rose to strike Volney, whom he ordered from his presence, subsequent to which he never more entered the Tuileries.

While every thing thus assumed the most flattering aspect, the decided declarations of Bonaparte in favour of peace more strongly attached the people to a Consular government; every principle of policy, therefore, urged him to adopt strenuous attempts for a negotiation, whatsoever might be his private views upon the subject.

It does not appear that Napoleon entertained any doubts as to a readiness on the part of the combined powers to enter into immediate negotiations, and in consequence, he, upon the 26th of December, intimated his wishes to the Courts of Vienna and Saint James's.

The Emperor, however, was not so eager; and it was in vain that the Consul interposed the mediation of the King of Prussia, while Moreau was employed to importune the Archduke Charles, and the Prince of Colloredo equally occupied in remonstrating with the Imperial cabinet. Great Britain was no less interested in the event, and Austria would not act without ascertaining the sentiments of her ally. Much diversity of opinion has prevailed as to the propriety of conduct adopted upon that occasion by the Allies; and if they are to be judged upon the principles of sound policy, which can only determine the justice

or injustice of an action by its result, there can be no doubt but they were too fastidious in their objections to the enemy's proposal.

The issue, therefore, seemed to depend on the decision of the British cabinet, and a long correspondence, in consequence, took place between Talleyrand and Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State; while warm debates occurred in the Houses of Lords and Commons on the subject of peace, or the continuance of war. The latter measure being carried by a great majority excited the indignation of the French rulers, while the decided measures of the English ministry more firmly attached the Court of Vienna to the common cause against Republican France. The German empire, however, became daily less convinced of the necessity of continuing the war, and the government received nothing in the shape of voluntary aid. Bonaparte saw in this laxity a favourable symptom for his object, and continued to correspond with the Archduke on the subject of peace, sending his aide-de-camp to the head-quarters of that prince, as he was prohibited from proceeding to Vienna. The arrival of General Kray, on the 16th of February, at Denauchingen, to succeed the Archduke in the command of the army, terminated the hopes of peace, when the French government being defeated in its pacific attempts was compelled to seek it at the mouth of the cannon. The determination of the Combined Powers to prosecute the war was communicated to the Legislative Body on the 7th of March, when the Address contained evident proofs of indignation against Britain, which were couched in the following terms:

" Frenchmen ! you have been anxious for peace ; your government has desired it with still greater ardour : its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy : to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, erase it from the chart of Europe,

or lower it to the rank of a secondary power; to keep every nation on the continent divided from each other, in order to gain possession of the trade of the whole and enrich itself with their spoils; it is to obtain this horrible triumph, that England scatters her gold, becomes prodigal of her promises, and multiplies her intrigues."

Whatever truth there might be in the allegation on either side, it is certain that, from the period in question, war became a personal contest; and, if it be true that the Allies took no very lively interest in the re-establishment of the Bourbons, it will be a question, whether the mere desire of embarrassing an individual was not too frivolous a motive for hazarding the further effusion of human blood.

England and France were now identified as principals in the war, and each exerted all its efforts to acquire strength, and multiply its resources. On receiving intelligence of the death of General Washington, Bonaparte strove to conciliate America, by a well-timed compliment, in ordering all the colours and officers of the Republic to wear black crape for ten days. Such of the European powers as had persevered in a state of neutrality were also considered as worthy of being conciliated, from political motives.

The First Consul was equally attentive to the King of Prussia, whom neither the prayers nor threats of the combined powers could awaken from his inflexible apathy. He had continued neutral during the existence of the Directorial government, and, therefore, it was not to be expected that the mildness and moderation of the Consular authority would alter his resolution. Bonaparte, however, left nothing unattempted to induce the court of Berlin to espouse the cause of the Republic against the coalition, as the most likely means of terminating the war. Notwithstanding this, the King of Prussia would not abandon the line of conduct he had hitherto pursued.

The new French ambassador, Bournonville, was kindly

received at the court of Berlin, and the Chief Consul, through the medium of that Minister, had the fullest assurances of neutrality on the part of Prussia, that monarch's example being also followed by the Elector of Saxony. It was in vain the Imperial Cabinet solicited his co-operation; the late revolution in France had determined his choice. Sweden also began to evince more friendly dispositions towards the Republic, and the neutrality of Denmark was confirmed by the example of Prussia.

The attempts of the French government to procure the blessings of peace having proved unsuccessful, the most vigorous efforts were made for opening another campaign. An army of reserve, to consist of 60,000 men, was to be assembled at Dijon, which city was to constitute the general rendezvous for the military operations of the armies, both of Italy and Germany, on account of its central situation. Every class of men in the Republic entertained the most sanguine hopes of being able to dictate a peace at the point of the bayonet; and many, who had been dissatisfied with the Consular government, now came forward with a hearty tender of their services. Numbers flocked to the standard of Bonaparte without solicitation, and provided themselves with martial accoutrements at their own expense. The chief command of this army was at first conferred on Berthier, who had been Minister of War since the 18th Brumaire. His successor in this last office was Carnot, the ex-director, whom the Consul had found it his interest to recal, and who had always conducted himself in every situation with probity, honour, and the most undeviating assiduity.

To repair the disasters, and enable France to meet the dangers with which she was threatened, occupied all the attention of the Consular government. A new army was ordered to be assembled at Dijon, called the army of reserve, under command of General Berthier, to amount to 60,000 men; and all persons were invited to accelerate its formation, upon the patriotic principle of revenge

against England for refusing to ratify peace. The military conscription was enforced with unusual rigour, and extensive arrangements were made to increase the new army by a great number of volunteers. The utmost diligence and spirit were exerted in the departments, and strong appeals to the passions succeeded in collecting vast numbers of crusaders to the Consular standard, who were confirmed in their zeal by public proclamations.

It was the embarrassment of the finances that induced the Consul to appeal to the voluntary efforts of the people ; for, in his circumstances, the good humour of the French was the most important and valuable treasure he could possess.

In consequence, the camp continued to form ; and although the conscripts and soldiers were openly told that the salvation of their country depended entirely upon their energies, the discipline throughout the army was not suffered to relax under a mistaken notion of securing by that means the good will of the soldiery. It was about this period that Girardin, one of the Tribunes, exclaimed, when a vote for the levy of 30,000 conscripts had been carried by the Assembly : “ When Bonaparte promises to march at the head of our armies, could we fear reverses !—*Reverses* and *Bonaparte* ! two such words stand confounded when appearing upon the same line !”

Upon the appointment of Berthier to the chief command of the army of reserve, the First Consul prevailed upon the ex-director, Carnot, to accept the office of Minister of War ; and that excellent tactician undertook the task with great alacrity, notwithstanding the ill-treatment he had received from Bonaparte, subsequent to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor.

The appointment of Carnot ought to have prepared the Combined Powers for some very grand plan of operations ; but they do not appear to have acted from any such persuasion. By the French government every degree of energy was exerted : one soul animated the immense mass

that was in motion, from the banks of the Mediterranean to the borders of Hesse ; and every effort was exerted to combine their united energies, so as to direct the whole *en masse* to the accomplishment of one grand object.

It was at this juncture despatches arrived from General Kleber, stating the complete failure of all the plans projected in Egypt, with the articles signed for the evacuation of that country, by the miserable remnants of the republican army, which we have detailed in a former chapter.

Thus did the Consul witness the termination of a project which contemplated the vast schemes of overturning the power of Britain in the East, and uniting the two seas ; Bonaparte, however, consoled himself for this failure against Britain, by the consideration of his having overturned the pusillanimous government of France, and, if he could not unite the oceans, he conceived that he should do much better, by identifying the house of Bonaparte with the fate of the French nation.

No event had occurred from the first dawn of the French revolution that led to consequences more important in their nature or more extensive in their effects than Bonaparte's accession to power. The principles of republicanism were now subdued, and the rights of man no longer asserted in France, which for eight long years held the poniard to the breast of every individual who had ventured to doubt the political equality of man.

The assumption of the government by Bonaparte operated as a kind of touchstone upon all parties : for his authority did not rest upon any principle which those who professed their attachment to liberty had not exploded ; and, as far as regarded mere political rule, there was not one of those principles which the British government and its friends had not pointed out as the basis of good order. It was evident to all the world that the British minister had pursued the war for the sole purpose of discomfitting Jacobinism ; and the First Consul had drank



so deep of the spirit which actuated that minister, that he laboured day and night for the same object; and yet, when he sued for that friendship which kindred spirits generally bear towards each other, instead of acknowledging Bonaparte's merits, Mr. Pitt obstinately repulsed him, as if he had *really* been the "child and champion of Jacobinism."

Not a rational effort, not a rational suggestion in favour of liberty made its appearance in England after this period; and if ever such an event should happen again, it will not be till that listless and torpid portion of the community, which credulously follows the unexamined opinions of others, shall become wise enough to take the trouble of thinking for itself, and following such leaders as fairly explain their ultimate designs in clear and unequivocal terms.

The overthrow of Republicanism, by Bonaparte, placed the court, the ministry, the politicians, and the people of England in a situation widely differing from that in which they had found themselves prior to the event in question. None, however, possessed sufficient discernment to discover the change, except the small circle constituting the interior of the cabinet of Saint James's. This single event effected more towards confirming the abuses known to exist in the English Administration, than all the coercive acts and arbitrary imprisonments of Pitt and his colleagues in office; since it even divested that ministry of the engine whereby it had maintained its own power, reducing it to insignificance and contempt even with the Court itself.

The issue of the French Revolution had manifested; as far as it had gone, that a corrupt people is incapable of producing a pure government; and the argument was as applicable to the population of England as that of France; for those who approved of the French excesses would equally have committed them, if they had had the same opportunity, and bowed their necks to a military

government in their own country as readily as they admired it in another.

Much valuable time had been wasted in attempts to change the mind of the Emperor of Russia, when his inflexible resolution to desert the confederacy was declared in a way that deprived the Allies of all grounds for expecting his co-operation. Bonaparte had availed himself of the season of suspense to employ the active General Brune, *ci-devant* commander-in-chief in Holland, to allay the troubles in the Western departments, and conciliate the inhabitants by relaxing the severities which the mistaken policy of the Republic had exercised there.

These Royalists acted with more consistency than any other description of people whom the Revolution had a tendency to affect: they did not principally fight for the family of Bourbon, but against the tyranny of the Republic; and, when that tyranny was overthrown, they had no longer sufficient motive for continuing in arms. A short truce was granted them by the French generals, which, being followed by a general amnesty, and some ameliorations in religious arrangements, terminated in an amicable adjustment. Georges and Frotte, two enterprising chiefs of the insurgents were included in the amnesty; but it was afterwards discovered (or said to be so by Bonaparte's generals) that the peace had been treacherously entered into by the rebel generals and officers, with a view of gaining time, till one of the Bourbon princes could be landed: whether true or false, Frotte, and many others, were shot as traitors, after which Brune announced the termination of the war in a Proclamation to the Vendéans, &c.

About the period that the campaign was opened on the Rhine, the army of reserve began its march from Dijon: the government announced it to be at that time 50,000 strong, and receiving reinforcements every day. The First Consul made it no secret that he should take upon himself the chief command. On the 5th of May, he arrived

at Dijon, where he reviewed the army. Ridiculous and chimerical as the Allies treated the Consul's idea of leading his army to victory by way of the Alps, Bonaparte, trusting to the resources of his invincible mind, promised his troops at Dijon, that in two decades he would lead them to Milan! It was incredible, and the unbounded confidence of his army was necessary to receive such an assurance in any other light than the vapouring of an arrogant coxcomb. The Consul had performed his journey from Paris to Dijon in twenty-five hours, and he lost no time in transmitting an account of his arrival to the Second and Third Consuls at Paris. Had the Russians continued firm to the confederacy, there would, doubtless, have been sufficient force left in the *Valdi Aoste* to have prevented the possibility of traversing the Alps; but it is evident the Austrians were not strong enough to meet the determined resistance of the French cohorts, and the consummate talents of their indefatigable leader.

Whatever objects Melas had in view, by pursuing Suchet, he was evidently promoting those of Bonaparte; for every step his troops took towards the department of the Var led him from the grand source of mischief that was preparing against him, and which he ought to have been present to frustrate. It was certainly of consequence to prevent any communication between Massena and Suchet; but, with a powerful English fleet in the gulph of Genoa, it would only have been necessary to secure the *Col de Tende* to have answered that purpose; and a small force acting with energy similar to that of Suchet and his corps would have secured that pass.

Whether it was the genius of the Consul, or the Minister of War, who planned the campaign, has been a matter of dispute among their respective friends; but these are subjects of contention which the real advocates for their country would never enter into. The arrangement itself evinced such brilliancy of talent, and its exe-

cution so much military skill, that the competitors would lose no portion of credit were they to admit that the united geniuses of Carnot, Moreau, and Bonaparte, had all contributed in planning and executing such a colossal design.

The power of the Allies was now entirely divided. A glance at the map shows the armies of Melas and Kray, as it were, at the two extremities of a transverse line, of immense length, and the French forces placed between them : not content with the puny warfare of dividing such corps as those of Massena and Suchet, but preparing itself to dissolve the whole power of the Confederacy, and lay it prostrate at the foot of France.

## CHAP. IX.

**BONAPARTE** commands the Army of Italy at the Passage of Mount Saint Bernard, and Dangers attending that momentous Enterprise—Capture of Aosta and Chatillon—Difficulties which the French Forces had to encounter at Fort de Barre and the Rock of Albaredo—Dangers and Fatigues encountered by the First Consul—Taking of Ivrea, Romagno, and Vercelli—Triumphant Entrance into Milan—Account of the City of Pavia—Battle of Montebello—Enthusiasm of the Troops for Bonaparte—Arrival of the First Consul and his Army on the Plains of Marengo—Battle of Marengo—Interesting Description of that memorable Conflict, by an Officer of the Consular Guard—Arrival of Desaix—**NAPOLEON'S** Opinion of the Austrian Troops at the Battle of Marengo, as handed down in the Memoirs of Count Las Cases—**BONAPARTE'S** Description of the Affair at Marengo—Results of the Battle—Traits of Humanity—Military Capacity of **NAPOLEON**, particularly exemplified at Marengo—Convention between the French and Imperial Armies—Death and Character of Desaix—Fallacy of the generally-received Opinion that the Victory at Marengo was solely due to the gallant Desaix—**NAPOLEON'S** Remark to that brave Officer, and his Opinion of General Desaix, as delivered to the French Institute.

**BONAPARTE** having arrived at Martigny, a village of the Upper-Valais, situated at six leagues distance from Mount St. Bernard, chose that place, on account of its proximity to the mountains, as most proper to prepare for and superintend the astonishing passage which he had resolved to accomplish. He remained there three days in the

House of Convalescence belonging to the monks of Mount St. Bernard.

The army of reserve, led on by General Lasnes, commander of the vanguard, saw everywhere flying before it the terrified inhabitants, who, alarmed at the distant view of so many soldiers, deserted their abodes and sought shelter among the rocks of ice and snow. The more advanced forces had already reached St. Peter, at the verge of the great mountain St. Bernard, on the 15th of May, General Berthier then acting as commander-in-chief, or, rather, as Bonaparte's lieutenant. At St. Peter the whole park of artillery and ammunition was collected; but of what use was it to the army? they had to meet the enemy on the opposite side of the Alps: and if Hannibal had crossed these mountains before, it was on account of his not having had such heavy and embarrassing ordnance to transport.

The height of the mountain, over which it was necessary for the French to pass, was one thousand eight hundred feet above the level of the sea: it required two days to climb the ascent; not because of its height, but on account of the ice which constantly envelopes it.

The naturalists who travel among these mountains furnish themselves with a long stick, a hatchet, and cramp-irons, to prevent them from sliding: it is also necessary to be provided with food and with guides.

In summer as well as in winter these almost inaccessible rocks swallow up many an incautious traveller, who has the temerity to stray among them: stupendous blocks of ice sometimes roll from the top of Mount Voland, capable of burying two hundred persons!

Upon Great Mount St. Bernard is a monastery of Bernardines—a religious order of men, who are perfectly satisfied with three months of summer and three hours of fine weather in a day, during this fleeting season, in exchange for the numerous privations they are obliged to

suffer in their dreary abode, in consequence of its affording them unusual opportunities of doing good.

The monastery has much the appearance of a large inn; and there are, beside, at a small distance, two other houses which depend upon it.

Among the ingenious acts of benevolence which these voluntary exiles practise, for the benefit of their fellow creatures, is the pains they take in instructing the canine species to alleviate and diminish the number of accidents peculiar to the vicinity. At morn and eve the dogs of the monastery are sent forth to explore the frozen caverns of the heights; and if, in their journies of discovery, they hear the cries of any unfortunate creature, they run towards the spot, express their joy, and exert all the powers of their instinct to encourage the hopes of the engulfed sufferers. Upon this they hasten back to the convent, and, with an air of disquietude, announce what they have witnessed, when small baskets are fastened round the dogs' necks, filled with food proper for reanimating life, while requisite persons proceed with the sagacious messenger to assist in snatching the unfortunate creatures from destruction.

At two hundred paces below the convent is situated a lake, the depth of which is not ascertained, and scarcely ever thawed; the snow collects in heaps, and covers so completely the frozen surface of these passages, that travellers often slide under without being able to avoid it. Till this period of time neither artillery nor ammunition had crossed either mountain: however, it became necessary to consider the question: what is an army, in the present day, without artillery? its necessity in this respect was imperious. In vain did infinite obstacles present themselves to intimidate the most ardent imagination: everything had been foreseen by the genius which conceived this daring enterprise, and all measures were adopted to carry it into full execution.

The artillery corps immediately commenced dismounting the cannon, caissons, forges, &c. piecemeal. Gassendi, Inspector of Ordnance, was ordered to hollow a number of the trunks of trees so as to form troughs, in which the pieces of cannon might safely slide, and which five or six hundred men, according to the weight of metal, were appointed to drag up those tremendous heights: the wheels were carried by hand upon poles; and sledges, made expressly for the purpose, at Auxonne, conveyed the axletrees and the empty caissons; while lastly, mules were loaded with ammunition in boxes made of fir.

In order to encourage this very arduous labour, from four to five hundred livres were offered for every cannon, with its ammunition, so transported: the exertion of a whole battalion was requisite for the conveyance of one field-piece, with its necessary ammunition: one half of a regiment could only draw the load while the other was obliged to carry the knapsacks, firelocks, cartridge-boxes, canteens, kettles, and, more especially, five days provisions, in bread, meat, salt, and biscuit! The whole of these accoutrements and necessities might make a weight of between sixty to seventy pounds. The men yoked themselves, about one hundred to a cable, and in this manner dragged the cannon up the mountains, General Marmont commanding upon that memorable occasion.

The heavy baggage was sent back to Lausanne, the Consul himself only taking what might be deemed absolutely necessary. The first division of the army, commanded by General Watrin, followed the movement of the vanguard, while the main body of the forces followed at no great distance. They were obliged to ascend one by one; nobody was tempted to endeavour to get before his comrade, as it might have occasioned his being irrecoverably swallowed up in the snow. The head of the Indian file column halted every now and then, when the soldiers allayed their thirst, by soaking their biscuits in the water of the melted snow; and, such were the fatigues.



of the passage, that these refreshments appeared to them quite delicious.

It took five hours to arrive at the monastery! when every one was indulged with a glass of wine. "This very liquor, though actually frozen (says Monsieur Petit), warmed us and recruited our strength; no one, not even the most avaricious among us, would have exchanged that single draught for all the gold in Mexico.

There was still a journey of six leagues to perform, but the rapidity of the descent rendered those eighteen miles truly terrible: at every step the troops encountered deep crevices, formed by the melting of snow; and it was in vain they held their horses fast by the closed reins of their bridles, that did not preserve them from dangerous, and sometimes fatal, slides; the men themselves, in spite of all their precautions, often fell; and, whatever difficulties they suffered in recovering themselves, they still ran the risk of drawing their horses out of the path and perishing with them.

Bonaparte entered the monastery, accompanied by the prior of the House of Convalescence, who had followed; but he staid there only an hour, when, on quitting it, he exhorted those respectable hermits to continue to deserve well of humanity.

The Consul's mules and horses were in the train of the army; and being no doubt anxious to rejoin it by the shortest road, he entered a path which some infantry pursued. Towards the middle of this march the descent was so steep that he was obliged to slide down the declivity upon his breech, from a height of about two hundred feet; and, in crossing the lake before mentioned, he had very nearly been swallowed up by a collection of thawed snow. The holes into which the soldiers fell every instant rendered this part of their journey over the mountains more fatiguing than during the ascent: they had commenced their march at midnight and did not terminate their labour until nine o'clock in the evening; for

fourteen leagues they had scarcely eaten any food, yet extreme fatigue, and great want of sleep, made them easily forget the badness of their supper.

Before Bonaparte ascended the mountain he wrote to his brother Lucien, Minister of the Interior, the following letter, which arrived at Paris on the 23d of May, dated

May 18th, at night.

"I am at the foot of the Great Alps, in the midst of the Valais. The Great St. Bernard\* offered many ob-

\* The passage of Mount St. Bernard being an event of so much importance, we subjoin the following, being another account of that celebrated undertaking:—

Two roads descend into the valley of the Rhone near Martigny. The one is from Chamouny, over the Col de Balme, and the other over the Great St. Bernard. This last was the one made use of by General Bonaparte for the passage of his army; an undertaking, in which a bold originality of enterprise was aided by the powers of an intelligent and vigorous execution; six hundred, eight hundred, and one thousand francs had been previously offered for the transportation across the mountain of pieces of artillery, according to their calibre, and the whole peasantry of the neighbourhood were set in motion; trees hollowed into troughs received the guns, the peasants harnessed themselves, the soldiers volunteered their services, and the astonishing spectacle was afforded, of an army marching by large detachments, with all the cumbrous apparatus of war, along the winding narrow path of a mountain, and where it rises to the height of seven thousand nine hundred feet above its base.

In the narrow plain, at that height, is a hospice; it has existed for many centuries, and the good fathers, who reside in this, the loftiest of all human habitations, have been ever distinguished for their active zeal in behalf of the unfortunate, and for their kindness and hospitality to persons of all nations and of all religions. The fall of an avalanche, which may have obstructed the road, or a snow storm of uncommon violence, is a call upon their humanity. They sally forth from their convent, and, aided by the sagacity of their dogs, very frequently discover a way-worn traveller, either buried beneath a heap of drifted snow, or seated in all the bitterness of despair on the brink of some frightful precipice.

The good sense of the First Consul had pointed out to him the propriety of protecting these respectable men, at the same time that he rendered them useful to his army; they were furnished with money, that they might provide every thing in time, which the soldiers could properly have occasion for, and a frugal, but plentiful, repast was always ready for each detachment, as it arrived. It must have been an interesting sight to have beheld some thousands of men, seated in circles upon this plain, amid scenes of eternal winter, and waited upon

stacles, which have been surmounted. The third of the artillery is in Italy: the army is descending by forced marches. Berthier is in Piedmont. In three days all will be over.

“BONAPARTE.”

On the following day, after a few hours sleep, which had refreshed the harassed body, the vanguard, composed of the 6th light brigade, the 28th and 44th of the line, the 11th and 12th of hussars, and of the 21st of chasseurs, marched upon the town of Aosta, in Piedmont, the seat of numerous Roman antiquities, whose ancient and hardy natives, the Selassii, a people of Celtic extraction, were first subdued by that power under its General, Terentius Varro. Its present inhabitants, the most simple people in Piedmont, are incapable of any exertion; the French found however an Hungarian battalion which attempted to defend the entrance into the town, but it was obliged to retire with loss, and a deputation of the place waited upon the Consul with offers to surrender.

Three leagues south-east of Aosta, is the town of Chatillon. General Lannes, in advancing towards it, was informed that the enemy was disposed to make a resistance on a draw-bridge constructed on a precipice, over which, so as to avoid this pass, it was not possible for infantry to make their way. Without a moment's hesitation, the Chef de Brigade, Fournier, sprang forwards, and with the 12th hussars, attacked them in so brisk a

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by the fathers of the convent. The whole of the passage was effected in three days, and without the loss of a man. The citadel, which commanded the descent into the plain, was too scantily supplied with ammunition to oppose any serious obstacle.

At the upper end of a saloon in the Hotel des Invalides, at Paris, was, for many years, a picture of Napoleon by his favourite painter, David, in which there was great merit. He was represented as on horseback, at the moment of passing the St. Bernard.

manner, that in a short time the force which had advanced to defend the pass, was overthrown or sabred, and the passage cleared of every one of the enemy, who lost forty of Ferdinand's hussars prisoners, with two hundred infantry, and a three-pounder, which composed the whole of their artillery. The fugitives were pursued as far as Fort de Barre, having barely time to raise the draw-bridge after them. The French followed and soon found themselves at the foot of a rock, which suddenly stopped the whole army. They were pent up as it were in a narrow neck, terminated by this rock, where four days would have been sufficient to exhaust the whole of their subsistence, and which the difficult and toilsome passage over Mount St. Bernard had left them no means of supplying. This alarming impediment afforded General Melas time to arrive, and oppose, in person, their passage through the defile. At the same time their situation then unfolded to him their whole design, which before he had either doubted, or to his misfortune had altogether despised. Nature, without any aid from art, had formed this rock of such materials, that it might truly be considered as impregnable. The road runs at its foot, which is watered by the *Doria*, a deep, rapid, and dangerous river. The opposite bank is also formed of high rocks inaccessible to man, which serve only for the habitation of marmots and screech-owls. To the left of the arch are seen other rocks, equally elevated with the former, but less impracticable, being strewed here and there with vines, to which the wretched inhabitants of this country have access by means of steps cut in the acclivities.

There was but one of two courses to pursue, that of taking the fort by assault, or seeking for another passage, which, by avoiding the fort, might enable the French to pursue their route. Each of these measures appeared to bid equal defiance to force and ingenuity. But the genius of Bonaparte sufficed: and it was on this occasion,

more perhaps than on any other, that he proved *there is nothing impossible to him who is resolved to effect his object*. Three companies of grenadiers took possession of the suburbs of the place, and lodged themselves therein. During the day they remained concealed, that they might not be cannonaded by the guns of the fort. But, through the casements they shot all those of the enemy who showed themselves at the embrasures of the wall, and in this way greatly discomfited them. The artillery and garrison, however, rendered the fort very formidable, and the foe seemed to entertain little apprehension, either that the French would venture to assail them, or that their assault would be attended by success.

About eleven o'clock at night, by the light of the moon, the chief of brigade of the brave 56th, at the head of several companies of grenadiers, marched silently across the great blocks of stone and rock scattered here and there, reached the palisades, climbed over them amidst a shower of balls, and forced their enemies with the bayonet from work to work, till, full of terror, they retired in disorder within the castle. During all this time, the cannon was thundering, and the firing of the musketry incessant. Canister-shot, grenades, and howitzers, for some time checked the impetuosity of the French. Immense stones from the parapet were hurled down with precipitancy upon the assailants, and crushed many to death on the spot. The chief of brigade himself was thus mortally wounded. In this situation a retreat was thought advisable; it was effected without confusion; the French having to regret the loss of a number of intrepid soldiers killed or badly wounded.

It was, in consequence, deemed absolutely necessary to ~~avoid~~ the fort. By dint of perseverance in research, the French found, after climbing from one flight of steps to another, that the rock called Albaredo was capable of being scaled, whence they might, though with inconceivable difficulty, descend again, or rather roll down the opposite

side. While ascending those steps, a battery played upon them unceasingly; they, however, took the precaution, as they got up, to incline ten or twelve paces to the left, and were thus sheltered in some measure from the enemy's shot. This, however, was not the only danger; for, before they had ascended three parts of the way, they became openly exposed during the space of ten minutes. This inconvenience suggested the expediency of raising a light piece of four-pound ordnance to the spot; which, by incredible efforts, was accomplished, through a cleft in the rock, though the height was eight hundred yards. This single, but serviceable gun, fired without intermission upon the enemy's battery, which it successfully commanded. The advanced guard in this manner ascended the rock, though not without extreme difficulty, since the troops were obliged to follow one by one. There, as on Mount St. Bernard, the soldiers laid upon their arms. The cavalry were still more fatigued than the infantry, the horses being obliged, like the native goats, to leap from stone to stone, and however astonishing the fact, it is no less true, that, guided by a powerful and unerring instinct, those animals know how to avoid the misfortune of rolling headlong down the dreadful precipices. The French nevertheless lost in this way a number of those valuable creatures, as well as many mules.

The mode of ascending the rock of Albaredo was, however, less practicable than that of Mount St. Bernard, yet it was deemed indispensable, in order to make use of the suburbs or basseville, whatever might be the cost, as regarded exposure. The most extraordinary precautions were taken for the marching through the streets. Haybands were twisted round the carriage-wheels, and the paved road covered with dung, in order to deaden their sound as they proceeded. Thirty men were harnessed, one before another, to a piece of ordnance, or ammunition-tumbril, ready to seize the moment

when they might make the least noise possible. The enemy, however, were sometimes aware of what was transacting; and would fire; upon which occasions the French seldom failed to find some one among them killed or wounded. They then posted a cannon in the belfry of the church in the suburbs, which was calculated to batter in breach, and effectually demolish a tower above the gate of the castle. But the forces which defended it, seeing themselves deprived of every help, and fearing an assault, surrendered prisoners of war.

The First Consul proceeded several times, accompanied by General Berthier, to view the works of the enemy. He ascended the mountain on foot, and continued many hours upon its summit, whence the eye could easily and fully survey the castle. Greatly fatigued by the laborious ascent, and rendered faint by the extreme heat of the weather, he laid himself down in the open air, and fell asleep. Each individual, on filing before him, could not but contemplate his person with peculiar interest, and took particular care not to interrupt that repose so necessary to his existence, but which had, as it were, been forced upon him.

Having surmounted these dangers and difficulties, the enemy made a show of force at St. Martin, and to attack and drive them to Ivrea required only the necessary time to run over the intervening ground. In fact, a division under General Boudet entered that place on the 23d of May, by scaling the walls. The enemy had a garrison in the citadel, and seemed, at first, determined to defend the town, but they were too few in number to resist. The French found fourteen pieces of cannon in the place, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, and made two hundred prisoners, besides taking twice that number in the pursuit towards Turin.

The Marquisate, in which Ivrea stands, was founded by Charlemagne. It is situated partly in a plain and upon a hill, containing about seven thousand inhabitants.

There are still some remains of an ancient fortress, called *Il Castellazzo*, supposed to have been built by Ardouin, first Marquis of Ivrea. Its inhabitants are the descendants of a Roman colony, sent thither during the sixth consulship of Marius. It is about eight leagues north of Turin, and is a bishop's see.

The main army, having climbed over the mountains of Albaredo, in the manner before described, filed off by this town, which seasonably furnished the troops with bread, wine, meat, and rice; objects so indispensably necessary for their subsistence. No sooner had they been supplied with these articles, than their hearts were again elated with joy; and the present abundance effaced the remembrance of the cruel hardships and privations previously endured. An incident here occurred, which will show, in a striking manner, how little the enemy seemed to have been prepared for the signal disasters which were so speedily to follow.

Four or five thousand of the enemy having assembled in haste from Turin and the adjacent garrisons, united themselves to the number of two thousand which the French having driven before them the preceding day, then took up a position at Romagno, and intrenched themselves. They were covered by a deep river, the bridge of which had been cut down, by reason as it is imagined of the contempt in which they held the French, from their entire ignorance of their force, as well as their designs. They said, openly among themselves, that the report of Bonaparte commanding this army in person was false; that it was an adventurer who resembled him, or it might be one of his brothers, who had put himself at the head of a collection of Italian refugees, without artillery and without cavalry; that the French were only throwing themselves away in this manner, in order to divert their main operations from before Genoa. One part of them even boasted that they only feigned to retreat, in order to draw their adversaries into more open ground,



where they might cut them to pieces with ease. But the valour of General Lannes, at the head of his advanced guard, soon put an end to these ridiculous stories and vain hopes at the same time. Romagno was carried by the bayonet; when the bridge and the redoubts were soon cleared of the enemy. The dead and the wounded were left on the spot, and the fugitives were pursued as far as the road to Turin. This was a dear lesson concerning the bravery of those troops, whom they had so much despised. Their cavalry, indeed, taking advantage of an open space, and a favourable position, faced about, and charged the French infantry. From too much ardour in the pursuit the latter had separated; but the 11th and 12th demi-brigades of the hussars, being near at hand, were united in a moment to the 16th light, and to the 29th and 44th of the line; when those troops again drove off the enemy and performed prodigies of valour.

On the following day, (May 26th,) Bonaparte, in order the better to conceal his designs, caused two divisions to menace Turin, whilst the advanced guard, under General Lannes, immediately proceeded to the Chiusella and the Po. The enemy was thus obliged to cross the latter stream, where he took a position on its right bank. While the attention of the Austrians was thus occupied by the movements of these corps, the division of cavalry, under the orders of General Murat, took the route for Milan, and on the 27th of May entered Vercelli, while on the same day the Italian Legion, commanded by General Lecchi, descended the Sesia. The division of General Turreau advanced by Mount Genis, and took possession of Suza and the Brunette. A column of troops penetrated from the Simplon, and, marching towards Domo d'Ossella, turned the Austrian position there, on the 28th of May. General Moncey's division, after passing Mount St. Gothard on the 26th, pushed its advanced guard to Ariolo, driving the Austrian General Davidovich to the Lago Maggiore. In the meantime General Lannes'

corps continued its march to the Po, which induced the Austrians to believe it was his intention to take up a position at Asti, in order to intercept the troops on their march from Nice to Turin. But the army, after a day's halt at Chivasso, suddenly on the night of the 30th passed the Doria; and, skirting the Po, joined General Murat at Vercelli.

The Staff of Ivrea, which was transferred to Vercelli, staid there but one night, removing next day to Novarra, which the enemy had evacuated in the morning. The French left the latter place at midnight; the consular guard forming part of that corps. Already many divisions attended with the utmost impatience upon the banks the Tessino, waiting for the signal to cross the stream in turn, and it was an interesting spectacle to witness the generous disputes which then arose. Every one was eager to rank an individual of the General's division. The rapidity of the river had destroyed the bridge of boats; and, to add to this misfortune, the French were without the means of constructing another. These were obstacles sufficient to have stopped the progress of any other than a republican army. A few ruinous wherries or barges, however were collected, in which the soldiers embarked; when shovels served them for oars. Some carabineers of the 16th light infantry, darted forward, under the protection of a well-directed fire of musketry and a few pieces of cannon. They were followed by the grenadiers of the 28th, and the opposite bank was presently cleared of the enemy. As they had less infantry than cavalry, they were obliged to quit the marshes; as also some asier fields, and a little wood, which had incommoded them more than it had served them for protection.

Buffarello was the principal point against which the chief efforts of the French were directed. The passage was accomplished a league lower on the Tessino, where the troops menaced the enemy with taking them in the

rear. Finding themselves exposed to this danger they thought it prudent to retire; on which the grenadiers pursued them with eagerness into a village, the main street of which was sufficiently large to allow the cavalry to act with good effect. At this precise moment General Landon had returned from Genoa; and whether he was apprised of the weakness of the French, or desirous of ascertaining their strength, he led on, at full gallop, for more than six miles, two cavalry divisions of Bussy's legion, which fell upon the grenadiers, repossessed themselves of the village, and made about fifty or sixty prisoners. The remainder rallied without loss of time at the entrance of the marsh, and stopped their further progress. But the enemy fell back as speedily as he had advanced. By crossing over a hastily-constructed bridge of boats, and by the favour of a dark night, the French had already collected such a force on the other side as the enemy did not venture to withstand.

These operations continued five days, during which the French had approached Milan, their entrance on the 2d of June being unexpectedly retarded some hours, by the indecision of the enemy. They hesitated whether they should shut themselves up in the citadel, or have sufficient time to receive succours and provisions. By this means they greatly harassed the French advanced guard; and in this state of the two parties, several of the inhabitants of the city fell victims of their desire to see and communicate with the French. Besides those who were killed, many were wounded by the cannon from the citadel. The consular guards avoided the shot by taking a narrow bye-path across the gardens, which led to the entrance, called the Gate of Pavia. A most tremendous storm of rain then came on, which obliged the Consul, and the Chief Staff, to take refuge in a small farm near the road. Besides the inconvenience from the boisterous weather, they were not yet perfectly free from the danger of the enemy, who continued to rove about the

country, and the advanced guard was not wholly come up, before an order arrived to press forwards the march of the horse grenadiers.

Notwithstanding the mud and dirt with which the officers at head-quarters were covered, it was conceived they made a figure sufficiently respectable and even brilliant, not only to be complimented by the Magistracy of Milan, but also by the elegant ladies of the city, who joined in the enthusiastic cries of *Vive Bonaparte ! vivent les Français !* And the nearer they approached to the town, the greater was the accompanying crowd. At length they arrived within the gates of that distinguished capital of the Milanese. The windows, lined with beautiful Italian women, and the rich shops suffered to remain open, testified, in the strongest manner, the confidence of the people in the French army, however great had been their sufferings under the Russians, commanded by Suwarrow. But the finest *coup-d'œil*—the moment the most flattering to the spectator, was when the French had reached the *Place du Dome*, and the hero who led them on enjoyed the sublime trait which the gratitude of a numerous people exhibited. That vast space rung with the reiterated peals of *Vive Général Bonaparte ! vive l'Armée Française !* Acclamations that penetrated the soul, and inspired the victors with that pride to which their conquests were justly entitled.

General Murat arrived with his division of cavalry, when the infantry of the advanced guard surrounded the citadel, in which four thousand of the enemy were found, who had therein sought refuge.

After these precautions, the Consul proceeded to the palace of the Archduke, in the grand square, which was found so destitute as not to afford a single faggot of wood wherewith to dry his clothes.

On every side the French national cockade had been substituted for that of Austria. They found three thousand sick and wounded in the hospitals, among whom

were several Frenchmen. A great number of Cisalpine refugees entered the French service, who had been told a fortnight before of the certainty of this happy event. But a circumstance, which peaceful science itself will rejoice to learn, was that this victorious entry into Milan gave liberty to the great Fontana, who had long groaned under a weight of chains for having been guilty of the crime of occupying a post in the Republic.

The chief strength of this celebrated city, built by the Gauls in the three hundred and ninety-fifth year of Rome, is a wall and rampart, as also a citadel, consisting of six bastions. It has been besieged forty times, taken twenty, and four times almost totally demolished; yet, notwithstanding these and other calamities, it survives and flourishes! there is a little hill near the city, called the *Bochetta*, which commands every part of the surrounding country, and the greatest portion of the interior and exterior works. This place is not commanded on any side; it is well fortified, and carefully maintained. Notwithstanding this, however, it cannot withstand above eight days of open trenches, being closely shut up; and nothing preventing the trenches from being opened by an enemy, so as to batter in breach with advantage. The town is beautiful and large, nearly ten miles in circumference, and denominated by the Italians, "*Milan the Great*." The streets are wide, while its churches, and, above all, its cathedral may be said to deserve the highest admiration.

The Ambrosian Library is the most striking object in Milan, after the cathedral. The buildings, which are appropriated to it have nothing very magnificent about them; but the saloon of the library, which is an oblong square, sixty feet by twenty-four and thirty-six in height, is very fine. There were formerly reckoned to be forty thousand volumes of printed books and fifteen thousand manuscripts in this collection: but of late years the number has been considerably diminished. Among the manu-

scripts are some uncommonly beautiful, and equally precious, comprising many of the Greek poets, such as *Hesiod, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Lycophron, Moschus, Aristophanes, Theocritus, &c.* Beneath this gallery is placed the famous Madonna.

The French remained seven days in Milan, where pleasures of every kind were within the reach of all those who had the means of purchasing them, and thereby indemnifying themselves for their past privations. There was no fear however of Milan becoming a *Capua* to the French soldiers, under the command of Bonaparte. The distribution of the rations was good and regular, and the troops could not have wished for better quarters.

Whilst the division of Loison took the road to Lodi, the Cisalpine Legion marched upon Brescia, to have an eye upon that charming country, which had changed its masters seven times in twenty-eight years. Gen. Lannes, always with the advanced guard, took possession of *Pavia* on the 5th of June, where he found considerable magazines of provisions, nearly one hundred thousand weight of powder, five hundred pieces of cannon on carriages, and an equal proportion of ball; besides the powder magazines, and eight hundred sick and wounded Austrians.

The city of Pavia, once the capital of Lombardy, was founded by the Gauls, but was soon afterwards taken by the Romans; who, in their turn, were driven out by the Goths in the fifth century. It fell into the hands of the Lombards in 568, and in 774 into those of Charlemagne, who founded its university. About 1477, the town, being little better than a mass of ruins, was rebuilt, when it changed its name of *Tesinum* for that of *Pavia*. It was before this city that Francis I. while besieging it, in 1525, was taken prisoner by the Imperialists. Pavia has never recovered its former splendour since it was sacked by the French General Lantreck, in 1527.

During these successes of the French, General Melas remained at Turin, while the greater part of his army was

still concentrated before Genoa. Perhaps he continued to despise the French force ; or, what is equally probable, was only executing the orders of the Cabinet of Vienna, which might have resolved on possessing that city, at whatever rate it could be obtained. He despatched General O'Reilly to Placentia, and General Otto upon the Tessino ; and lastly, he was desirous of operating a powerful diversion in detaching six thousand men to Chivosso, on the side of the Po. This party pushed their patrols as far as Vercelli, where they set at liberty three hundred Austrian prisoners taken by the French.

Without being a profound politician, every soldier saw the necessity of a battle, which, however desirable to one and the other army, would of course decide the fate of Italy. It was requisite to banish the idea of those dangers which surrounded on all points. Murat, however, beat General O'Reilly at Placentia, possessed himself of that city, and blockaded the citadel ; when the latter, seeing by this reverse the possible danger of his retreat towards Tuscany, fell back upon General Otto, at Stradello and Montebello.

At this period the advanced guard, and all the rest of the French army occupied a position on the Po, at a spot where, by its junction with the Tessino, it is as deep as the Rhine. They were no longer to fight with scattered troops assembled in haste as before, but with the advanced guard of the Austrian army, from fifteen to eighteen thousand strong, chosen troops to whom the French had been represented as mere raw recruits, and who, inflamed by their late success under Scherer, waited for their adversaries, with a firm foot, on the bank of the river. In short, every thing that had taken place hitherto, might be considered as mere amusement in comparison with what was about to happen.

The French army now augmented every day. A strong division of that of the Rhine, from which it had separated under the walls of Ulm, after traversing the

Grisons and crossed Mount St. Gothard, and having had obstacles to overcome, and the threat of famine to struggle with on their passage, arrived just in time to share the dangers and triumphs of their brethren. They had, however, been compelled to leave their artillery on the other side of the mountain, for the sake of expedition.

The grenadiers and carabineers contended with impatience for the honour of passing the river the first: the battalions were also as eager to come to blows. The enemy appeared to despise their hardihood, by allowing them leisure to disembark. But as two flying bridges were established across the river, the numbers of the French who landed augmented every moment, and this tended to increase their intrepidity in a tenfold degree. No sooner had all the advanced guard crossed, than the French attacked the Austrians with a degree of fury; the latter nevertheless stood the shock with firmness.

At length Lannes ordered *the charge, whose sang-froid* redoubled the efforts of his troops. The 6th light, the 28th of the line, and 44th, precipitated themselves on the enemy with advanced bayonets, driving them into the swamps, and following up as far as Stradella, upon the road from Placentia to Tortona. Prudence at length restrained their impetuous valour from further pursuit, and night coming on, every one spent that period in hopes of terminating the struggle on the ensuing day.

The sun had scarcely risen above the horizon when the advanced posts put themselves in motion. The enemy's cannon played, and the several battalions took their respective directions. The French light artillery, and that of the Consular guard, returned their fire. Montebello, which gave name to this sanguinary combat, was both taken and retaken, and the eagerness was as great on one side as on the other; but the numbers were very unequal.

The advanced guard, about six thousand infantry and our hundred cavalry, alone sustained the brunt of the



action for some time; but the division of Watrin was approaching, having effected its passage. During this interval six of the enemy's battalions, and several squadrons of fresh troops, bore hard upon the French advanced guard. Their numerous cavalry, too, profiting by the advantage of an open meadow, charged the 11th and 12th hussars. This onset was terrible, and the carnage frightful; the enemy had the advantage for two hours. At length General Watrin came up, and in an instant changed the face of things. All the different corps received the same impulsion, as it were simultaneously, and rushed on the enemy, who hesitated, staggered, and soon after retired, as if swept away by an overwhelming torrent.

The standing corn, and especially the rye, with its lofty straw, prevented the respective armies from distinguishing each other clearly. They ran upon one another, without knowing what force they were contending with; the bayonets crossed each other, dealing certain death on all sides. An impetuous courage prevailed, and the Austrians gave way, making precipitately for Voguera. Six thousand prisoners and twelve pieces of cannon were the reward of this victory. Several generals and officers of distinction in the Austrian army were among the killed and wounded; and the ground covered with the slain and dying, proved to General Melas what were the soldiers he had to contend with.

The French ascertained, by the prisoners, the fate of Genoa, and its honourable capitulation. This unfortunate intelligence produced a lively sensation on their minds; yet the success just obtained tempered, in a great degree, the pain it occasioned. But that which for the moment appeared a real calamity in their eyes, seemed two days after only to increase their fame, as they had the glory of combating all the Austrian forces united, and gaining an ever-memorable victory.

The day after the battle of Montebello, the French

head-quarters were removed to Voguera,—the army filing through that town on its march to Tortona. On passing under the window at which was stationed the Consul, the troops beheld General Desaix, and an emigrant officer, who had been despatched to parley with him. Upon this they endeavoured to display in their countenances and gestures the joy which reigned in their hearts. The cries of *Vive Bonaparte!* while the band played the burlesque air, answering to the words “*Nous lui percerons le flanc,*” were observed to darken the aspect of the emigrant officer.

To capture Milan—to operate a junction with General Moncey, who had marched from the Rhine with two divisions—to cut off the rear of the enemy at Brescia, Orzi-Novati, Marcaria, and Placentia—to take their magazines—possess themselves of their depôts, their sick, and their parks of guns, were the orders given to the parties for their movements, while the main army was to watch that of the enemy, beat up the Po, and effect the passage of that river before Stradella. The activity of all these movements gave to the French army what may be properly considered the *initiative*, of which the genius of Bonaparte knew how to profit.

The army came to its position before Tortona in columns, by divisions. The advanced guard quietly surrounded the town. The day passed without any remarkable occurrence. The French learned that for a certainty the enemy's army had arrived from Genoa, and that its head-quarters were at Alexandria.

On the morning of the 13th of June the army quitted its position in the camp of Tortona, and marched towards Alexandria. The advanced guard halted at San Julian,\*

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\* A hamlet of three farms, a league from Tortona, and situated at the entrance of the plain of *Marengo*. The Consul, and the thousand men of his guard, the general staff of the army, and its enormous suit, were heaped together at this spot, which, the day after, served as the place of ambulance.

for the coming up of the army. As soon as it had arrived, the whole moved on into the plain, in order for battle—all the cavalry marching forwards in a body. The French found the enemy at the bridge of the Bormido, whence a feeble attempt was made to dislodge him. The dispositions of the former sufficiently showed that they intended to offer battle; but whether from an irresolution in Melas, that all his forces were not arrived from Genoa, or that he was not sufficiently satisfied as to the strength and means of the French, he refused the challenge.

The Consul, with his horse guards, and pieces of light artillery, skirted Marengo. He was visible almost the whole time, at a short distance traversing the plain, examining the ground with attention, by turns profoundly meditating, and issuing his orders.

The day began to close in, and the French had been on horseback from the moment the morning had broken. They had also been soaked to the skin, for none of them, the Consul not excepted, had put on a cloak. They were often obliged to set foot to the ground to stretch and revive their limbs, which had been benumbed by the wet and the uncommon cold.

The French were joined by several deserters, and some scattered prisoners who had been taken; and among others, an officer of Bussy's legion, wearing the cross of St. Louis. The General questioned them with considerable earnestness, and all the prisoners were astonished, when informed that the person to whom they had just been speaking was Bonaparte.

The army passed the night at San Julian, without any disquietude concerning the morrow.

#### BATTLE OF MARENGO.

The 14th of June commenced, and some discharges of cannon by the advanced guard soon banished sleep. All was soon in readiness, and breakfast was concluded as speedily as had been the supper on the over night.

We shall now proceed to give the narrative, as detailed by an officer of the Consular guard, who continued, during the battle, near the person of Bonaparte. "By eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy had manifested much vigour of preparation; he touched upon a few weak points, and made certain dispositions in consequence; but his intentions were not fully known at head-quarters till towards the latter part of the morning. Berthier was the first upon the field of battle. Until this period the various aides-de-camp had relieved each other while apprising the Consul of the enemy's steps, and numerous wounded soldiers arriving, acquainted us that the Austrians were in great force.

"Upon these tidings, the Consul mounted his favourite charger at eleven o'clock, and made great haste to the field of battle. Both cannon and musketry, on certain points, began now to be heard, and to approach nearer and nearer. We were sorry to see so many, both of cavalry and infantry, retire into the rear, wounded by the fire of the onset. The enemy's line was extended to the space of two leagues: for, it is necessary to remark, that the Bormida, although generally rapid and deep, was nevertheless fordable at several places. The enemy was particularly tenacious of his position near the bridge; but the principal point of action was at San Stefano. From that point the enemy was enabled to gain Voguera ere we could, and thereby cut off our retreat. They therefore incessantly directed their attention to this weak point. By twelve o'clock we were well convinced we had the whole Austrian force against us, and that the enemy now, in good earnest, accepted the challenge which he had the day before declined.

"Our General was fully satisfied as to the measures he had to pursue. Orders were given to the disposable troops in the rear to come forward; but the corps under the command of Desaix was still at a considerable distance. The left wing, under the orders of Victor, began

to give way; and we perceived several corps of infantry retire in disorder, as well as platoons of cavalry forced back. The firing drew nearer; in the centre a dreadful discharge was heard, and ceased all at once on the Bormida. I felt an inexpressible anxiety, yet still ventured to flatter myself that our troops advanced; on the contrary, however, I saw them in a few minutes after returning with but too much haste, carrying the wounded on their shoulders—and on the part of the right wing I also beheld, with concern, that the enemy gained insensibly upon us.

“Bonaparte advanced in front, and exhorted to courage and firmness all the corps he met with; it was visible that his presence re-animated them. Several soldiers were observed to prefer absolute death in sustaining the retreat to the displeasure they might cause him in being a witness of their flight. From that moment his horse guards no longer continued as before, near his person; but without being at any great distance from him, took an active part in the battle.

“A cloud of Austrian cavalry debouched rapidly in the plain, and formed itself before us in battle array, masking several pieces of light artillery, which did not long delay playing; to the destruction of our ranks. General Berthier, who, at no great distance, had his eye upon the movement of this column, was briskly charged by a part of it, and forced to retire upon us. Murat, at the head of the dragoons, took them in flank, protected the retreat of our infantry, and preserved the right flank of General Victor.

“The foot grenadiers of the consular guard now came up, in the same state they had always been beheld on parade. They formed in the most orderly manner, in subdivisions, and advanced against the enemy, whom they met not a hundred paces from our front. Without artillery or cavalry, to the number of five hundred only, they had to endure the brunt of a victorious army. But,

without considering the smallness of their numbers they kept advancing, and forced every thing to give way on their passage. The lofty eagle; nevertheless, hovered every where around them; and threatened to tear them to pieces. The very first bullet which struck them laid three grenadiers and a *fourrier* dead on the ground, being in close order. Charged three times by the cavalry, fusilladed by the infantry within fifty paces, they surrounded their colours and their wounded, and, in a hollow square, exhausted all their rounds of cartridges; and then, with slow and regular steps, fell back and joined our astonished rear guard.

“ Notwithstanding this, our army fought, retreating in every direction; the centre gave way, and the enemy outstretched us and turned our right wing. On that side especially, it was obvious they had the superiority in an eminent degree. On the left they might have reached our head-quarters before we could. The garrison of Tortona, discovering the almost routed condition of our army, made a sortie; and thus we were nearly surrounded on every side.

“ The Consul, who continued all this period in the centre, encouraged the remains of the gallant corps which defended the road, and the defilé it crossed, shut up on one side by a wood, and on the other by some bushy vineyards of lofty growth. The village of Marengo flanked this cruelly memorable spot to the left.

“ What torrents of blood were shed in that place! what numbers of brave men perished there! An invincible courage had unceasingly to struggle against numbers of the obstinate foe, perpetually increasing. Our artillery, in part dismounted or taken, had but little ammunition. Thirty pieces of cannon, actively served by the enemy, cut in two both men and trees, the branches of which, in their fall, further crushed to death those who were before wounded, and who had sought an insecure refuge under them.

“In short, at four o'clock in the afternoon, I have no hesitation in saying, that for a line of five miles or more, there did not stand six thousand infantry to their colours, and only six pieces of cannon could be made any use of. Let me not be accused of exaggeration in painting this prodigious falling off; the causes of which are very easily to be accounted for. A third of the army was actually put *hors de combat*: the deficiency of carriages for removing the sick and wounded occasioned the necessity for more than another third to be occupied in this painful service; not to speak of the plausible pretext this circumstance afforded to certain individuals (of which an army always contains more or less) of absenting themselves at so unseasonable a conjuncture from their respective corps. Hunger, thirst, and fatigue, had imperiously forced a great number of officers also to withdraw; and every one knows what effect the absence of officers occasions. The tirailleurs had, for the most part, lost the direction of their corps: in short, what remained of the army occupied in vigourously defending the defile already mentioned, knew nothing of what had passed behind them. But let us return to the sanguinary picture.

“At this awful crisis, when the dead and the dying covered almost the whole field, and the Consul seemed to brave death, and to be near it, for the bullets were seen more than once to plough up the ground between his horse's legs; in the midst of warriors, who fell on every side, he was noted issuing his orders with his accustomed *sang-froid*; and he saw the approaching tempest without testifying any fear. All those who perceived him, forgetting the perils which they had to encounter, exclaimed—*S'il alloit être tué ! Pourquoi ne se retire-t-il pas ? Suppose he should be killed ! why does he not withdraw ?* thus signifying their unwillingness that he should so endanger his person. It is said, too, that Berthier addressed him to the same effect. I had the curiosity to listen attentively to his voice, and to examine the traits of his countenance. The

most courageous man, the human being loving glory as he did, might very well be moved, without any imputation of a crime. But no; the Bonaparte of Arcola—of Aboukir, discovered no change in those moments of doubtful fortune.

“ Any one who, in those circumstances so terrible to the French army, should have said, that in two hours from that time we should gain the battle, take 10,000 prisoners, many generals officers, five stands of colours, forty pieces of artillery; have eleven strong places delivered into our hands by the enemy, in fact, all the finest territory of Italy: that in two days that enemy would, in a humiliated condition, file off through our ranks; that an armistice would suspend the scourge of war; and, perhaps, finally bring about peace and safety to our country:—such a man, I repeat, would have appeared, by such silly hopes and predictions, as if only desirous of insulting our desperate condition. How, then, were such wonders brought about? But we will follow the course of our narrative.

“ The enemy, not being able to force the defile upon which the greatest part of our fighting troops had doubled, began to re-establish a most formidable line of artillery, under protection of which he threw his infantry into the vineyards and the woods. The cavalry, drawn up in the rear, only waited the moment of our being driven out of the defile, to fall upon our dispersed ranks and hew them to pieces. Had this last misfortune happened to us, all had been irretrievably lost; the Consul must have been taken or killed; we should all have preferred dying rather than survive. But Victory was not far distant: Faithful to Bonaparte, she came at length to remain with us, and to be our guide. Already had the divisions of Monnier and Desaix began to show themselves. Notwithstanding a forced march of ten leagues, they arrived at full gallop forgetful of their wants, and only thirsting to avenge their fallen comrades. The crowds of wounded and fugitives might well enough have damped their cou-



rage; but, with eyes fixed on Desaix, his soldiers only thought of sharing his dangers and flying to glory. Alas! they were far from thinking that, in an hour, they would cease to be commanded by that brave General! The foot grenadiers appeared again, covered with renown, and menacing, with their terrible bayonets, those who, a short time past, had bargained for their caps\* beforehand.

"I must now notice a fault of General Melas. On discovering, from the most distant point, these reinforcements, hope and joy entered our hearts; whilst the enemy, harassed and fatigued with his own success, which had however cost him very dear, was always stopped by our brave troops; by those who, without being conscious of the succours which were about to arrive, were resolved to perish in this new Thermopylæ, rather than make a retrograde step.

"General Melas, finding too many obstacles in the centre, thought that, by extending his wings, he might surround us, and thereby entirely cut us off. He, in consequence, directed great part of his forces to those points, imagining he had sufficiently concealed his movements, and that he should be quite able to check us by his artillery. Thus, not being able to discover what passed with us, and ignorant of the reinforcements which had just arrived, he laid the foundation for his own disaster. In fact, Bonaparte always placed in the post of honour, and to whose perspicacious eye nothing escaped, seized this favourable opportunity: his orders flew every where in a moment.

"As soon as the first battalion of the division of Desaix had reached the heights, that General formed it in a column. Every one kept his prescribed distance, each received particular instructions. The Consul, the Gene-

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\* The soldiers of the legion of Bussy had collected the caps of the grenadiers killed and wounded, and exhibited them to us by twirling them round on their sabres.

ral-in-Chief (Berthier), the Generals, the Officers of the Staff, ran through the ranks, and every where inspired that confidence which precedes and ensures great successes. This work took up an hour, which was a terrible one to pass; for the Austrian artillery was bearing cruelly upon us. Every discharge mowed down whole ranks. Their bullets carried away with them both men and horses. The troops received death amidst them in this manner, without moving a step, except to close their ranks over the dead bodies of their comrades. This thundering artillery reached even the cavalry that rallied in the rear of us, as well as a great number of foot-soldiers of different corps, who, encouraged by Desaix's division, which they had seen pass, returned to the field of honour. What was now to happen had been foreseen, and was calculated upon: the battalions burnt with impatience; the drummer's eye fixed upon the drum-major's cane, waited for the signal;—the trumpeter, with his arm raised up, prepared his breath.—The signal was given; the terrible *pas de charge* resounded. All the corps were put in motion at once; the mettlesome fire of the French, like a torrent carried every thing away that opposed its passage, and in a few minutes the defile was freed from the enemy, who was every where thrown down; the fallen, the wounded, the dying, and the dead, were all promiscuously trodden under foot.

“ Every chief of a battalion, as he reached the back of the defile, drew up his corps in battle array: and the line then presented a formidable front. As fast as the pieces of cannon could be brought up, they were employed in battery, and made great havock by their point-blank shot, among the affrighted enemy. Those accordingly fell back in their turn; their tremendous cavalry however charged in a body with fury: but the musketry,—the bayonet stopped them suddenly—and one of their powder-waggons blowing up, their alarm redoubled: the rising disorder being hidden in the smoke, the exclamations of

the conquerors added to the terror of the vanquished ; in short, all were in a fright—all gave way—all fled.

“ The French cavalry then rushed into the plain, and by its daring conduct concealed its smallness of number. It advanced towards the enemy without the least fear of being broken into. On the right, Desaix cleared hedges, ditches, threw down and trampled on every thing he met. To the left, Victor, his rival in swiftness, carried Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida.

“ The centre, with less force, and the cavalry, under the orders of Murat, advanced majestically into the plain, always within half cannon’s length. Murat greatly annoyed the centre of the enemy, and by watching and following his movements, kept an enormous body of cavalry in check, which could only manœuvre under the fire of three eight-pounders and a howitzer. Our infantry was ready to turn them, having a shorter space to run over, in order to reach the bridge, and thus cut off, in our turn, the principal point of their retreat. The intrepid Desaix, having obliqued to the right upon San-Stefano, cut off the Austrians’ left wing entirely ; and at the same moment the younger Kellerman, with eight hundred horse, collected from various regiments, made six thousand Hungarian grenadiers prisoners. General Zach, the head of their Staff, was made prisoner by a horseman of the 21st regiment.

“ It was then in the very moment of his triumph, that, after having saved the army, and perhaps his country, the friend and the model of brave men received a mortal wound ! But let us suspend our affliction till we have finished our recital, when we will return and bedew with tears the ensanguined remains of that precious hero.

“ Night was coming on ; the troops of the enemy in disorder : cavalry, infantry, artillery, were heaped one upon another towards the centre ; in the throng, many of

their own men were thrown off the bridge into the river. The artillery, which they had drawn back at the commencement of our good fortune, for fear that by its being taken it might be turned against themselves, was, in the present circumstances, of more injury than use to them, as it intercepted their passage. Murat, seeing the importance of precipitating their retreat, and increasing their confusion, made us advance at full trot, when we, in a short time, got before a part of their infantry, which had no resource left but be made prisoners or cut to pieces. The horse-grenadiers, and the chasseurs of the guard, kept the right of the road, to the number of 200; four or five hundred men of the 1st, 6th, 8th, dragoons; and 20th, of cavalry, occupied the left: the chief of brigade Bessière, filled with the same ardour which inspired us all, and excited a desire in each corps to distinguish itself, gave orders for the trumpet to sound a charge, that we might fall upon the enemy's infantry, already out of breath.

"The Austrian cavalry, resolving to save the infantry, came up to us in column, and their rapid pace obliged us to give loose to the reins.\* We inclined to the left, by obliquing on them. At the distance of about thirty paces was a ditch, which again separated us. We crossed it, sword in hand, and surrounded the first two platoons, the

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\* Las Cases, in his journal, states that Napoleon, speaking of the Austrians at the battle of Marengo, observed that they fought best upon that occasion, and their troops proved admirable; but that their valour became extinct after that conflict, and was never apparent on any subsequent occasion.

And in the following page he adds: "At Marengo the Austrian soldiers preserved the remembrance of the conqueror at Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli; his name was still present to their recollections; but they were far from imagining that he was personally there; they imagined him dead; as care had been taken to instil into their heads an idea of his having fallen in Egypt, and that the First Consul, of whom they heard talk, was no other than his brother. So freely was this report accredited, that Napoleon was under the necessity of publicly showing himself at Milan in order to destroy this powerful illusion."

whole being but the work of five minutes. Stunned by this proceeding, and probably intimidated by the height of the men, whose hairy caps seemed to add to their natural stature, they but ill defended themselves, and were therefore cut down or thrown into disorder. We made no prisoners, nor did we take any horses. While all this was performing, the dragoons took the same column in flank, adding to the general carnage, and pursued them as far as the ravine, making a great many prisoners.

“ The paucity of our numbers, the unfavourableness of the ground, the night setting in, the extreme fatigue of our horses, weakened by hunger, and more especially as this action took place under the eyes of a numerous cavalry who might take their revenge, the prudent Murat did not think it proper to let us expose ourselves further, to increase the fruits of so successful a day's work : besides which, our infantry, arriving almost as soon as our tirailleurs, might not perhaps have time to rally in case we had made a half-turn.

“ Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived us of the means of succouring all the wounded ; a great number were left upon the field of battle, when the Austrians and the French, now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew nearer to each other, by crawling forwards as well as they could, and offering or seeking mutual aid.

“ Every one had lain where he was found, with his knapsack on his back, and his firelock between his limbs ; horsemen holding, as long as they could, their bridles in their hands, and sleeping, both horses and riders without any thing to eat or drink.

“ The clock at Marengo struck ten, when we were returning slowly towards San-Juliano. Numbers, harassed with fatigue, but more from want of sleep, dozed upon their horses' backs, but were every instant roused by the painful cries of those who were borne across firelocks or

temporary hand-barrows; or of such as abandoned and scattered in the fields, implored our aid. Thus every humane and sensitive heart was penetrated with that melancholy to which the true soldier is no stranger, and which does him so much honour. Horses, limping here and there upon three legs, called to our own by their instinctive neighings. At every step, too, it was necessary to turn out of our way, in order to avoid treading upon the wounded. The ditches and the roads often presented the scene of caissons, and other carriages, as well as cannon, overturned. Farther off we beheld houses devoured by the flames, and tumbling upon the heads of their wretched owners, half dead by the fears which had driven them to the expedient of hiding themselves in the cellars and other subterraneous places. The total darkness which surrounded us made the picture additionally frightful. Prisoners, not knowing where to go, but with the hope of escaping, wandered at random. If they were met by French soldiers, bending under the weight of their comrades, they were forced to turn back, and bear on their shoulders those respectable burdens."

As we cannot too much expand on the subject of this memorable conflict, we subjoin the following account, as delivered by Bonaparte himself, of that momentous day.

"I arrived in Italy: I found myself behind the enemy, and master of all his magazines and equipages; I had obtained great advantages, but, once arrived at Stradella, I had a right to consider the campaign as finished. If Genoa had held out, I remained firm in my entrenched camp at Stradella—the strongest military position in Italy. I had five bridges over the Po; which rendered my communications easy with the divisions, Chabran, Lapeyre, Turreau, and Moncey: in case of necessity, I could either summon them to my aid, if attacked, or aid them in case they were. M. de Melas, in short, was forced, in order to be able to open his communications, to come and offer me battle, on a ground which I myself had

chosen; extremely intersected, covered with wood, very favourable to my infantry—the reverse for his cavalry; and where I had the disposal of all my troops.

“ The capture of Genoa changed the face of every thing; henceforward the enemy possessed a sure retreat; and very strong positions: he could either retire into Genoa, and defend himself therein—deriving his provision from the sea; or line the heights of Bobbio with artillery, and retire, in spite of my efforts to oppose him, into Placentia, regain Mantua and Peschiara, put himself into communication with Austria, and reduce me to an ordinary war. All my plan of the campaign would have been frustrated; a great chance presented itself to me—I risked it—I set out from Milan, and traversed thirty-two leagues in seven hours: I commanded the battle of Montebello—we gained it, and this victory caused the enemy’s retreat from Genoa. But this same advantage weakened my army—I was obliged to leave two divisions on the other side of the Po, to close the entrance of the states of Milan; they were not, to say the truth, distant from me above three leagues—but they would require three days to traverse them; they must have passed by Placentia, or by Stradella. I had also against me another disadvantage—the country, from Montebello to Alexandria, is nothing but an immense plain, most advantageous for the Austrian cavalry; I nevertheless resolved to offer a pitched battle, because I was in an extraordinary situation, and that I risked little to gain much. If beaten, I should have retired into my intrenched camp of Stradella; passed the Po by my five bridges, protected by my batteries; without the possibility of the enemy’s army being able to prevent it: and I should have united my second division with the corps of Moncey, Leechy, and Turreau. I suffered one corps of Melas to pass the Po (and he desired no better); then, superior in numbers, I could have attacked him with all my forces; if I beat him. Conqueror—I obtained the same results; his

army, pent up between us and the river, would have been forced to have laid down its arms, or to have surrendered all the forts. Had I been beaten, which I believe impossible, I brought myself to a regular warfare; having Switzerland for my support.

“Determined to give battle, I ordered an account of the effective strength of my army to be rendered to me: I had in all twenty-six thousand men; M. de Melas had forty thousand, eighteen thousand of whom were cavalry. At two o'clock in the morning they came to inform me that the enemy had fallen on our advanced guard, and that our troops gave way: the French do not like to be attacked. Our troops fell back somewhat in disorder; and others betook themselves to flight: the enemy possessed himself of some prisoners—we had retreated a league and a half. The generals of the advanced guard, Lasnes, Murat, and Berthier, sent me courier after courier; they told me that their troops were in flight, that they could not stop them—they asked for support, and requested me to march with my reserve. I replied to all—“Hold out as long as possible—if you cannot, fall back.” I perceived that the enemy had not yet brought up his reserve, and, in these kind of affairs, the great object is to make the adversary employ all his forces, in managing your own; and to force him to attack at right and at left, as long as you cannot be deceived, the difficulty being to make him employ his reserve. He had thirty-four thousand men against, at most, twenty thousand, who were in flight, and had, therefore, but to pursue his advantage: I repaired to the first line in an elegant uniform—I attacked them myself with a demi-brigade—I broke their order of battle—I pierced their line. M. de Melas, who saw me at the head of the army, and his lines forced, imagined that I had arrived with the reserve to reinforce the combat—he advanced on this point with his own, six thousand Hungarian grenadiers, the flower of their infantry; this corps filled up the vacancy, and attacked us in turn. Seeing this,



I gave way; and, in a retreat of half a league, exposed to their cannon, I rallied all the army, and reformed it in order of battle; arrived near my reserve, which was composed of six thousand men, had fifteen pieces of artillery, and Desaix for general, *that being my chest anchor*—I opened, by an extremely rapid movement, the whole army. I formed the two wings of Desaix, and I showed them six thousand fresh troops. A tremendous discharge of artillery, and a desperate charge at the point of the bayonet, broke their line, and cut their two wings: I then ordered Kellermann to attack them with eight hundred horse, and, as cavalry march quicker than infantry, they cut off from the rest of their army the six thousand Hungarian grenadiers, in sight of the Austrian cavalry; but this was half a league off; they required a quarter of an hour to arrive—and *I have always observed that it is these quarters of an hour which decide the fate of battles*. Kellermann's troops threw the grenadiers towards our infantry—they were instantly made prisoners. The Austrian cavalry then arrived; but our infantry was in line—its cannon in the front—a fine discharge, and a barrier of bayonets, prevented their attack; they retired somewhat in disorder: I pressed them with three regiments which had just joined me; they deployed; and, in seeking to pass the bridge of Borunda, which is very narrow, a great many were drowned in the river. They were pursued till night.

“ I learned, after the battle, from several general officers (prisoners), that, in the midst of their successes, they were not without disquietude; having a secret presentiment of their defeat. During the contest they questioned our prisoners, asking them, “ Where is General Bonaparte?”—“ He is in the rear,” they replied; and those who had already fought against me in Italy, knowing my custom *to reserve myself for the end*, exclaimed, “ *Our day's work is not yet done.*”

“ They confessed also that when I showed myself at

the first line, they were completely deceived, and that they believed all my reserve was engaged. In battles there is uniformly a moment, *when all the brave men have done their best*, when they seek nothing better than to run away; but these are misgivings of the heart, they want a pretext—the talent is to give them one.”

We now resume the account as detailed by the officer of the Consular guard :

“ At length arrived at head-quarters, which served as the ambulance to the army, every one stowed himself, as he could, among the dying and the dead, the piercing cries of the former being no longer sufficient to surmount the violent tendency to sleep. The ensuing morning hunger in turn prevailed. I, in a melancholy condition, entered the great court, to seek something for myself and horses to eat, when I was struck with so horrible a sight, that my whole frame shuddered. More than three thousand Frenchmen and Austrians, heaped one upon another in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most lamentable cries, blended with the severest curses against the surgeons, there being too few to dress all the wounded at once. Every where I heard the languishing voices of comrades, or of my particular friends, who begged something to eat or drink. All that I could do was to procure them a little water. In truth, forgetting my own wants and those of my horses, I staid more than two hours, running backwards and forwards, performing, by turns, the part of a surgeon and an hospital attendant.

“ Prisoners were brought in from every quarter, which increased the number of the famished. In short, this was a day of apparent insupportable length to all of us. However, an event, which gave birth to a great many conjectures, moderated, in some degree, our endless disquietudes. An Austrian officer came to parley, and a French *aid-de-camp* set out immediately for Alexandria.

No one knew any thing of this business, and yet every one made a gazette of it, after his own manner. Berthier went off to the same place about noon, leaving us all in the greatest expectation, for no one dared to hope for that which we learned the next day to have been obtained. We were early in the morning informed of the news of the armistice, which filled the French army with a joy never before experienced; whilst that of the Austrian, storming with rage, filed off the next and succeeding days before us, on the field of battle, still reeking with their own and our blood, while the dead carcasses began to taint the air with putrid exhalations.

“Supplies of subsistence and other necessities at length began to arrive, as well as carriages for the conveyance of the sick. A fraternal partition of these comforts was made among all the victims of that bloody day. Without any disquietude or jealousy, the Austrian and Frenchman were observed together, who, two days before, would have cut one another's throats. They were seen to receive from the same hands, under the same roof, in the same chamber, the requisite help and the urgent cares of succouring humanity.

“On the 16th of June, the prisoners taken from us were restored, and the Consul set out for Milan in haste, escorted by a party of chasseurs. The rumour of our being defeated having ran through that city, had distressed the friends of liberty, and filled their hearts with chagrin and horror: but the contrary account of the great events which had just taken place,—the publication of our exploits,—and still more the presence of Bonaparte, changed their sad uncertainty into real enthusiasm. The national guard and the provisional government were directly organized. The Consul, General Berthier and all his chief staff were present, with an immense number of people, at a *Te-deum*, which was sung in gratitude for our triumphs.

“The citadel of Milan agreeing to surrender, the gar-

ri-son, to the number of 4000, marched out with the honours of war, one half of which deserted immediately after. A Piedmontese battalion came over to us with arms and baggage, and colours flying, all the French soldiers of Bussy's and Rohan's divisions also entered our ranks, none but the officers remaining, and I am convinced that in eight days not less than fifteen thousand men deserted, almost all Frenchmen, taken during the retreat of Scherer. There were found in the hospital, nearly fifteen thousand sick and wounded; the number of dead made pretty nearly as many, so that the whole loss of the enemy (including those taken prisoners since our descent from Mount St. Bernard) in the course of this rapid campaign, amounted to sixty-five thousand men; a loss which, however enormous it may appear, is nevertheless not exaggerated.

"I have need of indulgence from the reader, no doubt, for several digressions with which I have interrupted the course of my recital; but I have endeavoured not to abuse it; and that has engaged me to reserve for the end of my narrative, certain characteristic traits and interesting facts, nearly connected with the conquest of Marengo and the events of that memorable day; rather than pass them over in silence. Lastly, our enterprise cannot better terminate than by strewing a few flowers over the grave of the inestimable Desaix.

"It has been shown, in the course of this recital, with what humanity, and even fraternity, we treated the Austrians. Nevertheless we had many complaints to make against them; and it may be said, that in the whole course of this long and terrible war against liberty, but more especially during the day of the battle of Marengo and those which preceded it, they did not show that regard for the French which a generous enemy always feels for a valiant though conquered foe. During twelve hours they had the upper hand of us, yet could it be believed that they made only eleven hundred prisoners, of

which twenty-five were of the Consular guard ! They must necessarily have had many more ; but, inflated with their success, they did not imagine that we should ever be able to bring back victory to our standards ; and they therefore treated us without mercy.

“ The priests of Alexandria manifested a baseness and cruelty towards us, for which it may be proper to brand them with ignominy. In the beginning of the action some French prisoners were conducted to Alexandria. The priests announced their entry by the ringing of bells, while cries of victory and enthusiastic joy assailed the ears of the captured. Thus far, however, it might be thought lawful, since they were allowed to prefer the Austrian to the Frenchman ; but they dared to revile us with foul names, and even to strike the unfortunate, who had not the means of self-defence ! nay, they went so far as to exhibit poinards to them ! Yet mark—those very men, two hours after, (events had changed the face of things,) dared offer to shake hands with us ! Nothing is more shocking than the eagerness with which the Austrian strips off the spoils of his prisoner ; not one among us preserved his sack, his hat, his cravat, or his shoes. They snatched from many Frenchmen the rings out of their ears, without giving them time to unlock them. We are positively assured, also, that they sabred several of our comrades three or four hours after they had been taken ; and it is added, that this is no uncommon case among them. It will be readily admitted, that, after such information had been received, it was well for them that they were exchanged the following day. How ought they to have blushed, on seeing with what lenity and good-nature we conducted them to Milan. Not one was struck or insulted ; all preserved their little effects, and they followed the route as they pleased, attended quietly by a mere handful of Frenchmen.

“ Let us, however, console ourselves for those acts of barbarity we have mentioned, by the recital of a trait of ge-

nerous humanity. A *chasseur* on foot, belonging to the Consular guard, covered with wounds, lay almost dead on the field of battle, at the moment of our retreat. Some soldiers of Bussy's legion surrounded him, and disputed among themselves for his spoils. Nothing was left to be disposed of but his coat, of which they had already stripped him, when an Austrian colonel by chance came up, who driving away those inhuman fellows with his cane, and at first taking the Frenchman for an officer, inquired to what corps he belonged?—I am one of the guard of the First Consul, replied the *chasseur*. After paying a compliment to that body of men, the Austrian ordered his surgeon to be called, when the wounded prisoner was dressed in his presence, and then carried to the *ambulance*. Some hours after, when the Austrians fell back in their turn, this generous officer came again to offer him his services, in order to have him transported to Alexandria: the *chasseur*, who saw his deliverance near, thanked him for his generous care and concern, but represented that his wounds were too serious to allow him to bear the motion of the conveyance. In a short time after, he found himself in the midst of his comrades.

“ At the moment when our weapons were about to clash with those of the enemy, an Austrian horseman, thrown down, lifted up his arms towards us, and supplicated that we would not trample him to death. Beasieres, chief of brigade, perceived him: ‘ My friends,’ said he to us, ‘ open your ranks; let us spare that unfortunate man.’

“ It may be said that Marengo was the glorious patrimony of all who fought there. There was not one corps—scarce a single soldier—who did not gather some laurels. But as I consider myself engaged to detail all I saw and was satisfactorily informed of, I shall just touch on two or three occurrences which could not well enter into the body of my narrative. The modesty of the General in Chief made him silent, in his report, concerning the danger he ran, having had his clothes pierced through, while

more than once death advanced on every side towards him. If we call to mind, at the same time, that his adversary, General Melas, had a contusion in his arm, and two horses killed under him, we may thence easily judge what efforts the two armies made, when the chiefs thus exposed themselves in their country's cause and their own glory.

“ The brother of General Watrin was killed ; and Generals Chamberlain and Marmont were wounded.

“ Who does not regret that he had not to fight in the 96th demi-brigade ? Who would not willingly have been in the rank with the formidable grenadiers, who acted like the Greeks when they sustained the efforts of the whole Persian army at the Straits of Thermopylæ ?—With the 6th light, the 28th of the line, the 40th, and the 44th, 50th, &c. &c. who can enumerate almost as many battles they have fought as they have been days in Italy ?

“ What charge swere made and withstood by our horse ! What boldness was displayed by the 20th regiment of cavalry, which concealed and compensated for the weakness of its numbers by feats of dauntless bravery ! What intrepidity in the eight hundred cavaliers of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 21st, and 23d regiments, conducted by the younger Kellerman, who made 6000 grenadiers, chosen troops of the enemy, lay down their arms, and by whose success a wavering victory was secured. Our artillery was spread in very small numbers, and still less provided for ; but how many of these inconveniences, owing to circumstances, were ably repaired by the manner in which they were served, and by the prodigies they performed, in order, as it were, to multiply themselves ! In every place where necessity called them—always in battery at forty paces in front, they braved the fire of triple, nay quadruple, the weight of their own metal, at the same time levelling and firing with coolness, justness, and promptitude. But it was Marmont who had the direction of them !

“ The loss of the Consular guard was considerable only in infantry. Out of five hundred men, there were two hundred and fifty-eight killed, or put *hors de combat*. The cavalry, out of two hundred, had a tenth of that number in killed and wounded; and about as many horses were disabled. The light artillery was almost all dismounted, and the train-horses killed; but, by unexampled good fortune, only one man was absolutely killed, and but a very few wounded.

“ After a slight examination, the best estimate I was enabled to form of our respective forces, I judged that the French army at the moment the battle commenced, must have been composed of from forty to forty-five thousand men, of which three thousand were cavalry; that it had from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon, in which were two companies of light artillery.

“ The Austrian army, according to the accounts of the best informed persons, contained, in spite of the loss in their preceding battles, the garrisons which we compelled to surrender, as well as those which kept the places still in their power—their army, I say, after all these deductions, still comprised from fifty-five to sixty thousand men, including the reinforcements which had just arrived from Genoa. From fifteen to eighteen thousand of those were cavalry; and they had more than fourscore pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition-waggons well provided, besides an immense train of army implements and equipage. It is well known that we were not much encumbered with these last mentioned articles, and that, for want of caissons, we were obliged to put our ammunition upon tumbrils drawn by oxen, and that the little we brought into action in this manner was soon exhausted!

“ It is not to be concealed that this victory cost the Republic dear, by the loss of a great number of its brave defenders, and Desaix, one of its ablest generals; but let it be considered, that it was necessary it should be obtained, to save the south from a frightful devastation. We



in consequence beheld Italy secured, and an armistice concluded which was to end in a much desired and glorious peace. We had consequently most powerful reasons for calming those regrets, which our losses in the first instance occasioned.”\*

*Convention between the French and Imperial Armies in Italy.*

THE morning after the memorable battle, the generals entered into the treaty, of which the following are the Articles.

Art. I. There shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities between the armies of his Imperial Majesty and that of the French Republic in Italy, until an answer is received from the Court of Vienna.

\* The conflict at Marengo was undoubtedly that in which Bonaparte displayed the most brilliant proofs of military capacity; for, on that momentous day he manifested the consummate tactics of a great commander; neither was there any deficiency of those traits of heroism which history always loves to record, and which must descend to the remotest posterity. It was during this battle, which might be justly termed the modern Pharsalia, that Napoleon preserved, amidst the tumultuous din of arms, and an army almost completely routed, that coolness and certain dependance upon self, which was the fruit of long military experience, and a characteristic of the truly brave. We shall now proceed to detail some of his most remarkable words upon that occasion.

As soon as the divisions of Lemonier and Desaix had arrived, Bonaparte repaired to range them in order for battle: but, as the enemy's forces were greatly superior in number to those of the French, the latter began to give way, and retreat; which, being perceived by Napoleon, he galloped to the front of the ranks, exclaiming:—*Frenchmen! remember my custom is to sleep upon the field of battle.*

Berthier on arriving to acquaint him that the army began to be put to the route, he made this answer: “*You do not announce that, general, in cool blood!*” During the hottest period of the action news was brought to Bonaparte that Desaix was no more, upon which, placing his hand upon his forehead, he only uttered these words: “*Why is it not permitted me to weep?*”

After the conflict Napoleon happening to meet a great number of the wounded, made the following remark in tones of the deepest affliction: “*We cannot but regret the not being wounded like them, in order that we might participate in their sufferings.*”

**Art. II.** The army of his Imperial Majesty shall occupy all the country comprised between the Mincio and Fossa-Maestra, and the Po; that is to say, Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and thence the whole left bank of the Po: and on the right bank, the city and the citadel of Ferrara.

**Art. III.** The army of his Imperial Majesty shall also occupy Tuscany and Ancona.

**Art. IV.** The French army shall occupy the country comprised between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po.

**Art. V.** The country between the Chiesa and the Mincio shall not be occupied by either of the two armies. The army of his Imperial Majesty may draw subsistence for his troops from those parts of the country which constituted part of the Duchy of Mantua. The French army shall draw subsistence from those countries which made a part of the Province of Brescia.

**Art. VI.** The castles of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighitone, Arona, and Piacenza, shall be put into possession of the French army, between the 16th and the 20th of June.

**Art. VII.** Cony, the castles of Ceva, Savonna, and the city of Genoa, shall also be put into the hands of the French army, between the 16th and 24th of June.

**Art. VIII.** Fort Urbino shall be surrendered up on the 26th of June.

**Art. IX.** The artillery of the several places shall be classed in the following manner:—First, all the artillery of the Austrian calibre and foundry shall belong to the Austrian army.—Secondly, that of the Italian, Piedmontese, and French calibre and foundry shall belong to the French army.—Thirdly, the provisions and forage shall be shared between them; one half at the disposal of the Commissary of the French army, the other at the discretion of the directing Commissary of the Austrian forces.

**Art. X.** The garrisons shall march out with military

honours, and repair with arms and baggage, by the shortest route, to Mantua.

**Art. XI.** The Austrian army shall repair to Mantua, by Placentia, in three columns; the first between the 16th and the 20th of June; the second between the 20th and the 24th, and the third between the 24th and 26th of the same month.

**Art. XII.** The Generals St. Julien of Schevertinch, of the Artillery; Burn, of the Engineers; Telsiege, Commissary of Provisions; Dejean, Counsellor of State; Daru, Inspector of Revenues; Adjutant-General Leopold Stabenzath; and the Chief of Brigade of Artillery, Mosset, are named Commissaries for carrying the present convention into effect, whether in relation to the forming of inventories, providing subsistence or conveyances for the troops, or for any other object.

**Art. XIII.** No individual shall be ill-treated on account of any service rendered the Austrian army, or for any political opinions. The Austrian General engages to release all persons in the strong places under his command, who may have been taken up in the Cisalpine Republic for political opinions.

**Art. XIV.** Whatever may be the answer from Vienna, neither of the two armies shall attack the other until after giving ten days previous notice.

**Art. XV.** During the suspension of arms, neither of the armies shall send detachments into Germany.

Alexandria, 15th of June, 1800.

(Signed) L.S. ALEXANDER BERTHIER.  
L.S. MELAS, General of Cavalry.

While these articles were signing, Bonaparte prepared to return to Milan, in order to re-organize the Cisalpine Republic. Before he set off, he made General Melas a present of a Turkish sabre, brought from Egypt. The latter said to Laucée, Bonaparte's Aid-de-Camp, who delivered it to him: "I am sorry peace is so long delayed ;

I shall contribute my efforts to obtain it, that I may go and see Bonaparte at Paris; I would even go to see him in Egypt."

*Death and Character of General Desaix.*

How noble, how amiable, how laudable were the regrets of the conquerors of Marengo, while they reflected on the loss they had of a friend, and of a model, in the person of General Desaix; I shall remember as long as I live (says the officer before quoted) the sad impression made on my mind the day after the battle, when I went to head quarters, and beheld the carriage which conveyed the corpse of that General, wrapped in a cloth and covered with his cloak. It was then on its way to Milan: it was in vain I figured to myself, that a few hours before he commanded the incomparable 9th demi-brigade, he who made so many fine manœuvres, under a terrible fire and in the most imminent danger. Every eye was moistened with tears, while looking on the inanimate blood-stained corpse.

Desaix was born in the month of August, 1768, in the department of *Puy-de-Dome*, at a short distance from Riom. His parents were of noble birth and devoted, for several generations, to military service. His cradle was consequently surrounded by all those prejudices, and ideas of superiority, with which pride and flattery always seek to intoxicate the minds of children of the privileged classes; but reason, and his own good understanding, placed him out of reach of the seductions of vanity. He was brought up at the Military School of *Efiat*, where the able qualities by which he was distinguished gained him the friendship of his school-fellows. They passed a simple, but, from the mouth of children an expressive eulogium on him, when they said, "*C'est un bon camarade*;" like that which the soldiers under his command were subsequently accustomed to do when speaking of him with an effusion of sentiment, "*C'est un brave homme*."

He had a soul too elevated to follow the ordinary routine in which fortune had placed him. Excited by that species of instinct which gives to real genius the wonted activity for unfolding itself, he experienced a passion for instruction in every thing, before he was able to calculate its advantages. Desaix soon knew how to turn the lessons of his masters to profit, and to cultivate the happy disposition of his mind, at a time when instruction was almost as rare as useless, among men of his class, because therein birth and riches assumed precedence over every other consideration.

Although he gave himself up to those various studies which might enable him to distinguish himself in the military art, to which he was destined, there was nothing attracted him so much as the history of the republics of Greece and Rome. His imagination was inflamed by reading the exalted acts and traits of virtue, which illustrated so many great men in whom those republics prided themselves.

Equally penetrated with admiration for the victor over Hannibal and the conqueror of the Persians at Marathon, he rather formed the wish than flattered himself he should one day be able to tread in their steps. His soul cherished the equally noble desire of imitating the virtues of Aristides, and the courageous devotion of Leonidas. And as if he had felt at that time the sorrowful presentiment which has since been realized, he was moved with pity at the premature death of *Egaminondas*, to whose sad but glorious destiny he recalls our remembrance.

Such was the disposition of mind and heart in Desaix, while a sub-lieutenant in the infantry regiment *de Bretagne*, when the moment of liberty was announced to the French, which opened the career of glory to all those whose virtues and talents gave them a right or pretence to be employed. The revolution offered him too many roads for realizing the liberal ideas he had entertained, not to

become its partisan ; and he had too good an understanding, and too much philosophy, not to adopt its principles. He therefore resisted all the seductions, all the menaces, and even the insulting railleries which were employed to make him desert his country.

He fought solely for the glory of the French name. He was even ignorant of the denomination of those too-multiplied epochs of the revolution, and of which each party prided itself : in amends for which, he knew all the fields of battle, every approved manoeuvre, and all those acts of heroism which threw a lustre over the first years of the Republic.

He went into camp with his regiment in 1792. His zeal and activity soon distinguished him to Generals Victor, Broglie, and Custines, who successively employed him as an Aid-de-camp and Captain-adjutant to the Chief Staff. But he manifested so much talent and bravery in several unfortunate circumstances, where his presence of mind and advice stopped the course of that ill success the army experienced, especially at the taking of the lines of Wessemburgh, that the deputies then on mission did not hesitate to confer the title of General of Brigade upon him. He fully justified their choice ; for, on every occasion where he was entrusted to direct an attack or to defend a post, he had the advantage over the enemy. His successes first began to elevate or rather repair the morals of the soldiers, after the defeats they had experienced in the departments of the Rhine, and he more especially set them an example of constancy and bravery. Wounded at the affair of Lutterburgh, by a musket ball which passed through both cheeks, he never quitted the field of battle, and would not admit of his wounds being dressed, till after he had rallied the battalions which were in disorder. On this account it was, that the French and Austrian soldiers gave him the surname of *Le guerrier sans peur et sans reproche*, (The warrior without fear and without reproach).

Yet, notwithstanding his virtues and his successes, during the revolutionary delirium, the Committee of Public Safety twice ordered him to be dismissed. The General in Chief, however, who commanded the army of the Rhine, as constantly refused; and Desaix remained ignorant of such orders till the very moment when, covered with laurels which he had gathered at the raising the blockade of Landau, he had the satisfaction to see the whole army oppose itself to the execution of a third order for his dismissal, brought by a deputy of the convention, a man who had the good sense to concede to the wish of the soldiers openly expressed, viz. that they might be allowed to retain their General, who had always led them on to victory.

The motives of his devotion were too pure to allow this injustice, any more than the bad treatment he experienced in the person of his tender mother (whose liberty he in vain demanded) to diminish his zeal for his country's service, and the honour of the French name. He had always a principal share in the brilliant actions which distinguished the arms of the Republic in the second and third years.

Desaix was at length named General of Division; and though he so well merited that honour, he owed it chiefly to Moreau, the just appreciator of military merit, who, having taken first command of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, gave him the charge of the left wing.

History will record the glorious march of that army during the brilliant campaign of the fourth year. Those forces invaded the Brisgaw, Suabia, and Bavaria; when, compelled by circumstances to fall back from the banks of the Danube to those of the Rhine, the army performed the manœuvres with so much wisdom, order, and courage, as made its retreat still more honourable than its triumphs. Desaix had a great share in those victories, and in the skilful military operations which were reckoned

the most brilliant and difficult that had ever been accomplished.

Moreau could not console himself for the loss of the campaign, but in facilitating, at least, the brilliant exploits of the army of Italy. He confided the defence of Khel to General Desaix, the taking of which place was so much the wish of Prince Charles. Thus whilst he kept engaged before that fortress the numerous army of the Archduke, Bonaparte gained over Field-Marshal Alvinzy the famous battle of Arcola, which had, in the first campaign, decided the fate of Italy, and prepared the reduction of Mantua, that speedily followed by the signing of the preliminaries at Leoben. But before this treaty suspended the exploits of the French, the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under the conduct of Desaix, effected the famous passage of the Rhine, the boldest and most dangerous ever executed.

It was after having so gloriously terminated this epoch of the war, and when recovering from the wounds he had received in the last battle, that Desaix profited by the suspension of arms, to visit Italy, to which country the first campaign of Bonaparte had given new lustre, in order again to behold that extraordinary man, as yet unconquered by the greatest Generals of Europe. The reception he met with from Napoleon was worthy of two such heroes; for immediately on his arrival, Bonaparte, in the orders issued to the army, expressed his esteem for General Desaix in the following terms:

“ The General in Chief informs the army of Italy, that General Desaix is arrived from the army of the Rhine, and that he is going to take a position where the French have immortalized themselves.”

This honourable suffrage was followed by a still greater mark of confidence. Bonaparte desired to share his glory with that of General Desaix, when he undertook to transport the honour of the French name into Egypt. At the taking of Malta, at the battle of Chebreiss, and



at that of the Pyramids, the latter displayed such admirable and determined bravery, that the General in Chief, being desirous of giving him some lasting memorial of regard, presented him with a poniard of exquisite workmanship, enriched with diamonds, and whereon was engraven, "*Prise de Malthe; bataille de Chebreiss; bataille des Pyramides* : (i. e. Taking of Malta; battle of Chebreiss; battle of the Pyramids.)

Seconded by Generals Friand, Davoust, and Beliard, Desaix received orders to march and effect the conquest of Upper Egypt, whither Murad Bey had retired with the rest of the Mamelukes, when he fought the numerous battles, previously detailed in our campaigns of Egypt. In every direction he caused the arms of the Republic to triumph: nor was that all; for he had the address to gain the hearts of the inhabitants of the country he had subdued; which amiable quality obtained for him the flattering title of the "JUST SULTAN."

It was not merely on this occasion, however interesting, that Desaix's claim to the admiration of good men was founded. He did all in his power to aid the progress and welfare of the arts and sciences, in obtaining for those learned men, who were charged with the task of surveying the country, not only every thing which depended upon his authority to render their voyage as safe and commodious as possible, but all the information he could obtain, by seeking it himself, like a well-informed man, among the remaining ruins and extraordinary monuments of that interesting country.

Such were the claims of General Desaix to immortality and the gratitude of Frenchmen, when, summoned from Upper Egypt by General Kleber, he signed, by that officer's orders, a treaty with the Turks and English, by virtue of which he embarked on his return to Europe, and scarcely had our warrior welcomed the land which gave him birth, than he evinced an impatience to join the conqueror of Egypt. How many affecting recollections

must necessarily have attached them to each other! They set foot on, and entered together that island, before which the forces of the Crescent had been foiled for near three centuries. They landed together on the banks of the Nile, and in company conquered Alexandria and Cairo. In taking leave of Egypt, to re-enter France, whither his glorious destiny led him, Bonaparte reposed in the hands of Kleber and Desaix the care of preserving to France the inheritance of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies.

His hopes were not deceived; his confidence was not vain. It was to no purpose that the most formidable of the Beys survived his defeat: it was useless that he again collected together the fugitive Mamelukes: our hero gave him no time to breathe; he encountered the tropical heats, and pursued Murad beyond the cataracts, which no army had approached during twelve centuries, when new dangers still threatened him.

Desaix embarked in a neutral ship, in virtue of a solemn capitulation, and set sail for France. He carried with him a passport of the Grand Vizir, and of the English General; and even a British officer accompanied him in the voyage, in order to ensure respect for the treaty. Notwithstanding this, he had scarcely arrived at Leghorn, before the English Admiral, Lord Keith, declared him his prisoner, ordered the ship to be dismantled, and its rudder taken away; thus exposing the vessel to be run aground.

The Admiral, after sending Desaix to the Lazaretto, added a gross affront to the violation of the rights of nations; he proposed to him an allowance of twenty sous a day, the same as to all the other French common soldiers, prisoners, along with him, observing, that "*the equality proclaimed in France did not admit of his being better treated than the privates.*" The General, in his reply to this note, concluded as follows:—"I have treated with the Mamelukes, the Turks, the Andalusians, the Arabs of

the great Desert, the Ethiopians, the Tartars, the dark inhabitants of Darfour: all paid respect to the promises they made; and they did not insult men under misfortune!" The time of his quarantine elapsed too slowly for his wishes, and, at its expiration, he overcame the obstacles to his journey. He had no sooner landed, than he learned that Bonaparte had crossed the Alps: he forgot his own fatigues, and though he had been absent so long, denied himself the pleasure of spending a short time with his family. He mounted on horseback and posted to St. Germain, between Ivrée and Verceuil, where he was attacked by some Piedmontese robbers. One of his suite was killed, and several were wounded, while attempting to defend him, among whom was an Ethiopian, who had accompanied him from Egypt. But the Genius of France, who watched over Desaix's glory, reserved him for a death less dreadful, and more useful to his country. He received from the hand of the Consul himself the order to join that army destined to perform such wonders, and he immediately proceeded to Milan. The victory at Montebello had already been obtained, and he regretted he had not shared in it. However, the moment was approaching, which was to decide the fate of Italy; and as the talents of Desaix were too precious not to be usefully employed in an event of so much importance, he had the command of one of the divisions entrusted to him. It has already been shown with what obstinacy both armies fought. Four times were the French driven back, and four times did they again advance to encounter the enemy. At the very instant when the Consul, surrounded by hostile shot, was reanimating his almost exhausted troops, Desaix darted with impetuosity amidst the Austrian battalions, when the deadly bullet stopped the earthly career of the hero, though it did not prevent him from tasting the fruits of victory with his dying gasp. This soldier, whose exploits both Africa and Europe celebrate, had only time to utter the following words to the son of

the Consul Lebrun, in whose arms he expired :—" Go, and tell the First Consul, that I die with regret, not having done enough to live in the memory of posterity."\* Desaix preserved, to the hour of his death, great simplicity in his exterior appearance and manners, which were united with uncommon courage. His physiognomy was pensive, his visage pale, his looks ardent, and his unchangeable *sang froid* inspired all those who attracted his notice with that respect which ever attends upon great men. He was clothed entirely in blue, without wearing any gold lace or embroidery, and his hat was unadorned by feathers or lace, such being the costume of this gallant soldier.

To his natural and modest simplicity, Desaix united a great firmness of soul. The distinctness of his orders and words of command, in moments of the greatest peril, were always a subject of panegyric, and highly admired among his comrades and followers. He was killed upon a horse which was lent him by Bessieres, chief of brigade. Before the Consul left Milan for the last time, he gave

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\* Bonaparte perceived the absolute necessity of bearing off the laurels of victory in the struggle at Marengo; indeed, never were such efforts resorted to on either side; the balance continued for a long time doubtful between the contending forces; when at the moment that Bonaparte had cause to dread the worst, a generous hero changed the tide of battle. At this juncture, Desaix, the magnanimous and valiant Desaix, beholding the advance of a tremendous column of the enemy, which, like the Macedonian phalanx of old, bore down all resistance, gallantly determined to decide the fate of the day by the voluntary sacrifice of himself, and of the division under his command. For this purpose, directing his artillery upon the foe, he advanced with his soldiers on the seemingly impenetrable mass, through which he forced a passage, at the moment when a bullet deprived him of existence, though not of immortality, since his expiring sigh was wafted for the glory of his country. "Go," said the hero, "and tell the First Consul, that I die for the Republic, happy if I carry with me to the grave a certainty that my death proves of as much utility to my country as I have ardently desired."

When the First Consul heard of the death of Desaix, and the circumstances attending it, though fully sensible of the value of this advantage, he nevertheless exclaimed, with tears in his eyes: "The victory is dear, purchased at such a price!"

orders that the corpse of Desaix should be conveyed to the monastery of St. Bernard, and a mausoleum erected to his memory; and that the names of the demi-brigade, the regiments of cavalry and artillery, as well as those of the generals and chiefs of brigades, should be engraved on a marble tablet, and placed opposite to his monument.

Many persons have ascribed the victory of Marengo entirely to Desaix, asserting that Bonaparte was defeated till the former came up with a fresh supply of troops and changed the fortune of the day. This idea has been warmly combated by an officer of rank, who thus defends the conduct of Bonaparte:—

“They who can assert such a thing must be totally ignorant of all military concerns, and probably say it only through envy. Bonaparte’s talents as a general were never more distinguished than on that day: he saved every thing by defending the narrow defile on the side of the village of Marengo till Desaix’s corps should come up; and perhaps there is no other general in the world who could have kept his men at the defile as he did, exposed all the time to such a dreadful fire from the enemy. It required all his talents, all his coolness, all his presence of mind, all his insensibility to personal danger;—for he was himself the whole time exposed to the hottest of the fire, and above all it required his vast personal influence with the soldiers to prevent their giving way. Those who really understand the nature of such a conflict must consider this as one of the most brilliant actions among all those which have marked the French Emperor’s unexampled career; if the troops had not kept standing immovable as the rocks by which they were surrounded, Desaix’s corps would have come up in vain,—all would have been lost past recovery. Desaix behaved with the gallantry and coolness of a true hero; but in Pagan times, when the deities were supposed to mingle in mortal conflicts, Bonaparte would have been regarded as nothing less than the divinity Mars himself.”

It is necessary to add that this eulogium was penned by one who professed that, in many points of view, he was not an admirer of Bonaparte.

“Desaix, at Marengo,” says Las Cases in his journal, “upon his arrival received the command of the Army of Reserve. Towards the end of the battle, and in a state of obvious disorder, Bonaparte at that moment coming up, the former remarked : ‘*Well, affairs are going on very badly, the battle is lost ; I can no longer do any thing, but effect a retreat ; is it not so ?*’ ‘*Direct the contrary,*’ replied the First Consul ; ‘*I never looked upon the result of the conflict as for a moment dubious : all you see in disorder, to the right and the left, is only marching to form in your rear ; the battle, on the contrary, is gained. Rush forward with your column ; nothing now remains but for you to reap the fruits of the victory.*’”

Bonaparte, speaking of Desaix, in his discourse to the Institute, on returning to Paris after the battle of Marengo, said, “he was the best general of the French armies, he possessed every requisite ; and that in Upper Egypt they gave him no other name than *the good Sultan ; the just Sultan.*”

## CHAP. X.

*Arrival of NAPOLEON at Lyons after the Battle of Marengo—His Return to Paris—Universal Joy at the signing of Preliminaries for Peace—Alteration in Weights and Measures—Attempted Assassination of the First Consul by Means of the Infernal Machine—Obstacles thrown in the Way of Peace with Austria by the British Cabinet—Preparations for the recommencement of Hostilities—General Massena's Proclamation to the Army—Moreau's Letter to the Archduke John—Festival of the first Vendimiare—Telegraphic Bulletin from Moreau to the First Consul—Further Convention for suspending Hostilities—Conferences respecting a Naval Armistice with Great Britain—Letter from Mr. Hammond to M. Otto—Malta surrendered to the English—BONAPARTE tolerates the Return of the Emigrants—Strenuous Preparations for the renewal of War by France and Germany—The Emperor Paul claims the Nomination of Grand Master of Malta—Moreau victorious at Hohenlinden—Operations of the Armies of Generals Lecourbe, Macdonald, and Augereau—Consternation at Vienna—Armistice signed between General Moreau and the Archduke Charles—The French possess themselves of Tuscany and the Port of Leghorn, confiscating all English Merchandize—Peace ratified between the First Consul of the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany—BONAPARTE's Address to the Senate—General Illuminations at Paris in Honour of the Peace signed at Luneville.*

BONAPARTE did not long remain in Italy after having achieved the grand exploit of the campaign. He left Milan on the 25th of June, and gained Vercelli on the same evening. On the 26th he reached Turin, where he

visited the citadel, and reviewed the division of General Turreau. Between the 26th and 27th, during the night, he passed Mount Cenis. On the 28th, in the morning, he entered Chamberry, from whence he proceeded to Lyons, and reached that city on the same evening. He was received with great distinction by the Constituted Authorities of that celebrated city, and was waited upon by the Prefect, and all the civil and military officers, as well as the principal inhabitants of the place. On this occasion he gained much popularity, by giving audience to the Chamber of Commerce, the members of which he endeavoured to assure, that, after every thing should be completed for rendering the arms of the country illustrious, he would take such measures as should secure the success of its trade.\* At seven in the morning, the 30th.

\* It was Napoleon's wish to have continued incognito, in order to escape the honours and fêtes intended him; but all his precautions were of no avail; the report of his being in the city spread itself in all directions, and the populace in crowds appeared in the streets, on the quays, in the promenades, and mounted on the house tops, crying:—" *It is Bonaparte! Long live Bonaparte!*" these applauses being prolonged until night, with which were mingled incessant discharges of artillery.

During the nights of the 9th and 10th, a bronze medal was struck in haste, and presented to the conqueror of Italy; and, on the morning of the last-mentioned day, he repaired to the square of Bellecour, amidst an escort of upwards of fifty thousand Lyonese. Upon this occasion, he laid the first stone, and thus commenced the rebuilding of the city, which had been almost entirely demolished, by order of the comedian and revolutionist Collot D'Herbois. Previous to the depositing of the stone, Napoleon took it in his hand, smiling, and assured the inhabitants of Lyons, that this square should very soon recover all its former splendour, and that the manufactories of Lyons, which were then reduced to four thousand workmen, should speedily be augmented to twenty-five thousand; after which, he deposited the medal enclosed in a leaden case, beneath the foundation of the new structure; the bronze in question bearing this inscription,—

To Bonaparte,  
The Restorer of Lyons;  
Verninac Prefect.

In the name of the grateful Lyonese.



of June, he arrived at Dijon; when General Brune, commander-in-chief, and the principal officers of the army, proceeded to meet him; and, afterwards, attended him to a review of the army, which he encouraged, by citing the example of their predecessors.\* The Consul merely stopped to breakfast with General Brune, and took his departure for Paris, which he reached in the night between the 1st and 2d of July; having been only fifty-eight days absent on a campaign, which, in its consequences, laid the whole civilized world prostrate before him.

On Bonaparte's arrival at Paris, the Consuls and Ministers, with the Senators and Counsellors of State, flocked around him to offer congratulations on the brilliant conclusion of the campaign. At eleven o'clock on the 2d, when the two Consuls and the Secretaries of State entered the Tuileries, the guns of the palace and of Montmartre announced his arrival. The first words of

On the other side appeared, encircled by a coronet of oak :

Twice Victor at Marengo,  
Conqueror of Italy,  
He deposited this Stone  
The 10th Messidor, An. VIII.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, Napoleon repaired to the hotel of the Prefect, where a sumptuous breakfast was prepared. He proved as amiable at table as he was terrible in the field; and it was justly said of this repast:—“*That there was Alexander feasting with his friends on the day when he founded Alexandria.*”

\* It is asserted that the General-in-Chief was so particularly satisfied with the conduct of one corps in the second campaign of Italy, that he addressed those troops, as follows:—“You have now spent two years upon the mountains, very frequently deprived of every thing, and yet you have uniformly been found at your post without complaining; this is the noblest quality of a good soldier. I am well aware that a week back eight months arrears of pay were due to you, notwithstanding which not a murmur has been heard. As a testimony of my satisfaction, in respect to the excellent conduct of the 22d demi-brigade, in the first action that occurs, yours shall be the honour of heading the avant-guard.”

the Consul, on entering the Council of State, were,—  
 “ Citizens! here I am again, have you done much since I left you?” The answer from twenty months at once was, as was natural from such an assembly, and upon such an occasion, “ Not so much as yourself, General.” On perceiving Kellerman, he said, “ Your son has distinguished himself,” to which he added, “ I wish for peace, as do the troops of Austria.”

Before his arrival at Paris, the good fortune\* of the Consul made him acquainted with a most extraordinary change operating in the capricious mind of the Emperor of Russia, who, having conceived an antipathy against his former allies, attempted to raise a hostile spirit, in the north of Europe, against the naval power of Britain. Without provocation, he seized upon the English vessels in his ports, and sent their crews into captivity; prohibiting all communication with that country, as well as the use of its manufactories in his dominions.

By aggravating the complaint made against the English navy for its treatment of neutrals, he prevailed upon Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to unite with him in a confederacy against England, the object of which was to oblige that country to abandon the principle of maritime law, technically called the rule of the war of 1756; and to admit, that, in all cases, free ships should constitute free trade.

Without entering at large upon this question, it will appear evident, that a more fortunate circumstance could

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\* It is a curious fact, that Napoleon, like all the natives of Corsica, though a very free thinker, was extremely superstitious, inso-much, that it has been said he carried reliques about him; one thing, however, is certain, that he most religiously preserved the drab great coat which he wore during his passage over Mount Saint Gothard, previous to the memorable battle of Marengo. He was so much attached to this surtout, that he frequently wore it previous to decisive battles; and it is in this very habiliment that he is uniformly represented in the great pictures, painted by his order, to immortalize his most celebrated victories.

not have occurred for the First Consul, whose fleets were blocked up in the several ports. It was a renewal of the unjust claims so frequently urged by America; and he saw reason to hope that Great Britain might suffer herself to be bullied into concessions that would, in effect, have given him all the neutral nations of the world for his auxiliaries.

The victories and successes of the French arms afforded the government a convenient opportunity of indulging the Parisian taste for public fêtes and exhibitions; and, as the Consul could not yet declare his undisguised views relative to the Republic, it was resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the Revolution of the 14th of July with unusual splendour.

Upon this occasion the standards taken at the battle of Marengo,\* and by the army of Italy, were formally pre-

\* After the battle of Marengo a beautiful medal was executed to commemorate that famous victory and the arduous passage of the Alps, which were represented in the following manner:—On one side, the figure of Victory is delineated passing over the summit of the Alps, in a triumphal chariot drawn by two horses. The vehicle is composed of a cannon, mounted on a carriage, resembling those which were employed in conveying the guns over mount St. Bernard; that is to say, a species of sledge formed of the trunks of trees, on which each piece of ordnance was attached.

Inscription on the border:—

*The French army passed Mount St. Bernard, 28th Floreal, year VIII. May 17, 1800.*

On the reverse, two palms enclose a bunch of twelve keys, being those of the cities captured in consequence of the victory at Marengo.

Round this is inscribed,

*Battle of Marengo, 25th Prairial, year VIII. June 14, 1800.*

Another medal, to perpetuate the remembrance of the conflict at Marengo, represented the following designs:—

Obverse: the head of Bonaparte as First Consul. On the margin, a laurel wreath encircling a field; within which is inscribed this legend: BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL DE LA RE: FRANCE EXERQUE: BATAILLE DE MARENGO, 25TH AND 26TH PRAIRIAL, AN. 8. H. AUGUSTE. Reverse:—*On the field of the medal*,—LE PREMIER CONSUL COMMANDANT L'ARMEE DE RESERVE EN PERSONNE. ENFANS RAPELLEZ-VOUS QUE MON HABITUDE EST DE COUCHER SUR LE CHAMP DE BATAILLE.

sented to the government, in presence of the people, assembled at the *Champ de Mars*, by General Lannes, and the *chef d'escadre* Berthier, accompanied by appropriate speeches. In his answer, the Chief Consul, to attribute all the honour of the several victories to the generals, said,—“ The standards presented to the government, in presence of the people of this immense capital, attest the genius of the generals-in-chief Moreau,\* Massena, and Berthier ; the military talents of the other generals, their lieutenants, and the bravery of the French army. On their return to the camps, let them tell the soldiers, that, upon the era of the 23d of September, when we shall celebrate the anniversary of the Republic, the French people expect *the publication of peace*, or, if the enemy should oppose insurmountable obstacles, *new standards will be the fruits of new victories*.”

At this fête, Bonaparte acquired much popularity, by an invitation he gave to such of the invalids as had received medals at the Temple of Mars, to dine with him ; amongst them were two venerable old men, one aged 104, and the other 107 years.

In answer to the constant flattery and fulsome adulation offered to Napoleon, he took occasion to let the people know, “ That, after the period of his Consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept nothing from the people ; but if, subsequent to that period, they should choose to apply to him that article of the constitution, which decreed, that some great recompense should be given to those warriors who had signalized themselves

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\* The first interview between Bonaparte and General Moreau took place at the hotel of Gohier, President of the Directory in 1800. “ General,” observed Napoleon, “ I had several of your lieutenants in Egypt, and they are very distinguished officers.” After which, he presented Moreau with a magnificent pair of pistols, saying—“ I could have wished to have had all your victories engraved upon them, but there would not have been sufficient room.”

in defence of the Republic, he would then accept their kindness with gratitude."

The result of the armistice signed between the armies of France and Austria, in consequence of the decisive battle of Marengo, was the ratification of preliminaries of peace executed at Paris, by Count Saint Julien, in the name of his master the Emperor of Austria and the Consular Government of France.

It cannot be denied by the bitterest enemies of the Consul, that if he designed to bend and mould the French people to his interest, he as diligently applied himself to become useful to them; and though it would be a waste of time to detail the various improvements and regulations suggested by him during the early part of his consulate, yet we should deem it improper to omit noticing the zealous and effectual support he gave to the new system of weights and measures, that had been suggested by the early revolutionists and opposed by all the bigots and knaves in Europe, who, like the supporters of kingcraft and priestcraft, find a system of complication and mystery necessary to enable them to impose upon the ignorant.

Among the great ideas realized during the first period of the revolution, must be reckoned that of an uniform system of weights and measures. From all parts of France remonstrances were forwarded against the great variety of those in use: several kings had endeavoured to remedy the evil, which was so detrimental to lawful trade, and favourable only to fraud and double dealing; yet what *they* had not been able to effect was undertaken by the Constituent Assembly; it declared that there ought to be but one standard of weights and measures in a country subject to the same laws. The Academy of Sciences was charged to seek and present the best mode of carrying this decree into execution, when that society proposed the adoption of the decimal division, by taking for a fundamental unit the ten millionth part of the quarter of the

terrestrial meridian. The motives which determined this choice were, the extreme simplicity of decimal calculation, and the advantage of having a measure derived from nature.

In order to establish this base, the grand and important work of taking a new measure of the terrestrial meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona was begun in 1792: at the expiration of seven years it was terminated; and the Institute presented the result to the Legislative body, with the original table of the new measures.

This system Bonaparte determined to establish throughout the French dominions, and the prefects were instructed to persevere in getting it adopted in their several departments, however strong the prejudices of the people might be against it. All the public offices introduced this new mode, and the duties and imposts were levied upon similar principles. Each chief magistrate was enjoined to provide a sufficient supply of the new weights and measures for the demands of the merchants and citizens who might choose to adopt them, and he was responsible for their being issued correctly, according to the national standard, each article bearing the arms of the Republic and of the particular arrondissement from the municipality of which it had been received; and this one act of the First Consul was in itself sufficient to have immortalised his memory.

It was at this period the well-known attempt to assassinate Bonaparte, by means of the *infernal machine*, as it was termed, took place; the best account of which treacherous proceeding we shall translate from the "Memoirs of Count Las Cases," who, in vol. i. part 1, page 394, states as follows:

"In several conversations, Napoleon spoke of the various conspiracies planned against his life, among which that of the *infernal machine* was not forgotten; a diabolical invention that created so much noise and produced

so many victims, which was planned by the Royalists, who received the idea from the Jacobins.

“About a hundred of the most infuriated among the latter (says the writer) real cut-throats of September, the tenth of August, &c. &c. had resolved to rid themselves of the First Consul. To compass this, they conceived the idea of a species of howitzer, weighing fifteen or sixteen pounds, which, being thrown into the carriage, would, from its construction, have burst, in consequence of the shock received by its fall, and have annihilated all those within the vehicle; and to render this plot the more certain, an obstruction was to have been placed in a certain part of the road, whereby the advance of the horses being suddenly stopped, the carriage must have remained immovable. The workman, however, who was applied to for the purpose of constructing the machinery, beginning to entertain some doubts respecting the views and moral character of those who employed him, gave notice to the police. The result was, that the grand movers in this affair were seized in the very act of essaying the effect of their machinery, near the Garden of Plants; upon which occasion a terrible explosion took place. Bonaparte, who uniformly kept secret the conspiracies planned against his person, took every precaution to conceal the one in question, and therefore contented himself by imprisoning the perpetrators. Being at length liberated from solitary confinement to which they had originally been sentenced, they were allowed a certain freedom; when, it so happened, that Royalists were detained in the same prison, for having conspired against the First Consul's life, by means of an air gun; these two opposite parties combined together, and the latter communicated to their friends without the prison the idea of an *infernal machine*, as far preferable to any other mode of effecting Bonaparte's destruction.

“It is very singular,” continues our authority, “that,

on the night when the catastrophe took place, Napoleon evinced the greatest repugnance to quitting the palace. An oratorio was the entertainment of that evening; Madame Bonaparte and some intimate acquaintances of the First Consul had insisted on his going, which he peremptorily declined, and then fell asleep upon a sofa; when he was awakened, the one presenting him his sword, and another his hat. Even while in the carriage he dozed a fresh, but suddenly opening his eyes, as if roused from a dream, he cried aloud: '*I am drowning in the Tagliamento!*' In order to explain this circumstance," says Count Las Cases, "it is necessary to state, that a few years previous, when General of the Army of Italy, Bonaparte, during the night, endeavoured to ford the river in question, contrary to the advice of those who were present. Urged, however, by the impetuosity of youth, and disdaining every obstacle, he persisted, being surrounded by about a hundred men, bearing long staves and flambeaus, when he soon found himself in so much danger as to believe he was irretrievably lost. At the moment of his so awakening, a conflagration environed the carriage, which was partially raised, and Napoleon experienced the same sensation as when amidst the Tagliamento; which feeling, however, continued but for a few seconds, as a tremendous thundering explosion instantly took place. '*We are undermined!*' were the words immediately addressed by the Consul to Lannes and Bessieres, who chanced to be in the vehicle. The latter sought to stop the carriage, but Napoleon urged them to the contrary; and in this manner he gained the theatre, and presented himself to the audience at the opera, as if nothing had taken place. He was saved through the audacity and rapid speed with which the coachman drove him, as, owing to this, the missiles, scattered from the bursting machine, only struck one or two of the individuals who followed in the rear of his escort.



"The most trivial circumstances sometimes combine to produce the greatest results. The driver, upon this occasion, chanced to be inebriated, which preserved the life of Bonaparte. Indeed, so complete was the man's intoxication, that it was not till the ensuing day he became conscious of all that had transpired; having conceived that the noise from the explosion was occasioned by popular acclamations. Immediately after the event, the whole was ascribed to the Jacobins, who had already been proved accessories in planning a similar conspiracy, and in consequence a considerable number were transported; they, however, were not the real culprits, as was soon after discovered, in a very singular manner.

"From three to four hundred coachmen subscribed together, to give a repast to the driver of the First Consul, who had become, with them, the great hero of the whip. During the heat of the repast, one of the guests, drinking to the skill of Napoleon's coachman, added, that he well knew those who had played him off the trick of the infernal machine. He was immediately seized, and it was soon ascertained that, upon the day, or on the eve of the fatal explosion, this same driver had stopped his vehicle before a gate-way, in order to permit a passage for the small cart, that had contained the infernal machine. The premises being immediately visited, it was found that carriages of every description were to be had on hire, which was not denied by the proprietors of the mansion; who showed the out-house where the cart had been repaired, and, upon a close inspection, traces of gunpowder were still apparent: they also stated that they thought the cart had been hired by smugglers of Brittany. From this clue, all those who had been employed in working at the machine were easily traced, as well as the vender of the horse, &c. and by these means it was also ascertained, that the plot had originated with the Royalist *chouans*. Some intelligent persons were then despatched to the

head quarters of the Vendéans, in Morbihan; where the fact was openly talked of, and loud complaints uttered by the Royalists in consequence of the conspiracy having failed: the result was, the seizure and punishment of some of the delinquents. It has been positively asserted that the ringleader of this atrocious plot subsequently sought an expiation for his crime in the austerities of religious seclusion, having voluntarily enrolled himself a monk of the order of La Trappe."

If there was ever a moment in which France was really thwarted, by what she called the gold and intrigues of England, it was during the negotiations for the naval armistice: the alliance between the courts of Vienna and St. James's was perfectly secure, and the understanding between the ministers of the respective courts as complete as possible. Francis now saw that what he held, was so entirely due to the forbearance of his enemy, that, like a froward child, he was determined to try the utmost limit of that forbearance, rather than acknowledge himself debtor for what he had experienced: he seemed, indeed, so near the brink of ruin, that he doubted whether it was worth while to be saved or not; and was, in consequence, prevailed upon by the British cabinet to disavow the preliminaries of Count St. Julien and refuse his ratification, under an idea that the French might be induced to enter into a joint treaty with England, in order that the conquests the latter had obtained from France might be set off in the negotiation against those which France had acquired from him. In the interim, a constant communication was kept up between the governments of France and England, which, as far as time was necessary, gave Austria an opportunity of collecting and increasing her resources; for until France should have exhausted every reply, she could not well break the armistice with the Emperor.

Bonaparte considered it of the first importance that he should be enabled to send supplics to Egypt; and he

winked at the obstinacy of the Emperor, in hopes that his indulgence might operate upon the English ministers; the folly of the British ministry and the Consul's patience had, however, both their limits.

The admission of another French force into the Mediterranean would have been empowering France to settle Egypt as a possession of her own for ever; and a powerful fleet and army, which, ever since the siege of Genoa, had been upon that sea, under the command of Lord Keith and General Abercrombie, had already been destined to take possession of the colony.\* On the contrary, the Consul was pledged to the English to announce peace by the first day of the new year, or to lead his armies on to new victories: his time was nearly exhausted, and he began to assume the character which he so frequently alluded to in his proclamations and addresses—that of the *waking lion*.

Strong and severe remonstrances were transmitted to the Emperor of Austria, threatening him with the rupture of the armistice at the end of ten days, if he did not send an ambassador to Luneville, the place which had been designated, by the former negotiation, as the rendezvous for concluding a definitive treaty.

The United States had appointed commissioners to adjust their differences with France shortly after the Consular Government had commenced; but the Consul taught those commercial plenipotentiaries, that it was their business to wait.

The obstacles thrown in his way by the tardiness of the Emperor and the disputes of the English, left Bona-

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\* We are here compelled to allude again to the possession of Egypt by the French, the evacuation of which has been previously summed up in very few words. The fact is, that the struggle maintained in the East by the French, for two years after Napoleon's return to France, being wholly unconnected with the life of that great man, the account of the transactions which took place would have not only proved too great a digression from the main subject, but have extended too far the limits of this publication.

parte few other pursuits for some time than those which arose out of the preparations making to gratify the Parisians, and console them for having lost the fête of the 10th of August, which, very much to his credit, the Consul had not suffered to be kept that year.

When the French resolution of breaking the armistice was announced at Vienna, the Emperor and his court were thrown into the greatest consternation: orders were sent in all directions to the armies, to prepare for immediate attack: and the Emperor resolved to repair in person to the army, accompanied by his brother, the Archduke John.

The conditions of the peace previously agreed to by Count St. Julien were not much known, for it had been stipulated that they should be kept secret till after they were ratified; and hence the Allies had an opportunity of declaiming violently against the unreasonable terms of the French. Peace was most anxiously desired throughout the German states; and the Emperor, therefore, thought it necessary to issue a proclamation, attaching all the blame of the new hostilities to the French Government, before he quitted Vienna.

The French generals were ready to commence the war: each commander was at his post; and General Brune, who had received the command of the army of Italy in the place of General Massena, declared the pacific views of his government in the following proclamation to the army of Italy.

PROCLAMATION.

*Brune, Counsellor of State, Commander-in-Chief to the Army.*

“ Fellow Soldiers !

“ Our enemies still wish for war. National generosity had suspended the course of your triumphs.—You reposed under arms in expectation of peace.—This attempt is

frustrated.—Your indignant native country calls you to new battles. I appeal to your glory, to your courage, to excite speedy repentance in the bosoms of our enemies, for having rejected the moderate proposals of our government. In vain did we offer them peace. They wished to destroy the Republic in her army. The foresight of Bonaparte has proved just and rapid; he penetrated the object of the delays of the enemy; and peace must be conquered by new victories.

“At these ideas of fresh triumphs I behold your souls elated, and your arms brandished in your generous hands. I hear the cry of battle resound through all your ranks. In a short time the enemy will learn that humanity alone could have suspended your efforts; but that sentiment imposes new sacrifices upon us, and glory must cover them with immortal palms.

“Brave warriors! I need not exhort you to regard the rights of the people, among whom you are about to penetrate. You will never forget that liberty is their hope, and that a display of humanity and discipline can alone induce them to favour our arms.

(Signed)

“BRUNE.”

With the utmost despatch the Emperor set out for the army, and on his arrival at Altenkerchen immediately forwarded a courier to General Moreau, proposing a prolongation of the armistice only for a few days, to allow a courier to return from Paris with the answer of the First Consul to the imperial *ultimatum*. General Moreau consented that the sword should remain sheathed for a few days, just leaving sufficient time to let the government know the result by telegraph, before the new year (the 23d of September) should commence.

The 17th of September was the day on which the armistice was to expire, and on the 18th, Moreau wrote the following letter to the Archduke John, from his head quarters:

*The General-in-Chief of the French Army to his Royal Highness the Archduke John.*

Head-quarters at Nymphenbourg, 1st Complimentary day (September 18th), 8th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"General in Chief,

"I this moment received, by a telegraphic despatch, the answer of government to the proposal brought by its courier from Vienna. I cannot better impart to you the orders with which I am charged than by literally transcribing the words in which they are conveyed.

"Announce to the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army, that the Emperor does not wish to ratify the preliminaries of peace, and that you are obliged to renew hostilities. You may, however, agree to an armistice for a month, if the enemy immediately puts into your hands places of security. M. de Lehrbach will forthwith receive the necessary passports."

"You see, General, that the intentions of the First Consul are very decided for peace, since the renewal of hostilities depends only upon the ratification of the treaty of preliminaries concluded with Count St. Julien, and which he does not believe it his duty to expose to interminable diplomatic discussions, without some guarantee for the sincerity of the intentions of our enemies.

"I give orders to Lahorie, general of brigade, to repair to the advanced posts of the army which I command, to require from you places of security, which a new conjuncture gives us a right to demand. If the propositions he is charged to make you are not accepted, hostilities will commence the day after to-morrow, at sunrise (3d Complimentary day, 20th of September). I entreat your Royal Highness to accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I am, &c.

(Signed)

(A true copy)

"MORREAU.

"DESOLLE."

Y Y

At Paris the hopes of peace had greatly abated when it was known that the Emperor had himself joined the army, the command of which was confided to the Archduke. His Majesty had taken the sacrament and a formal leave of his family previous to quitting his capital; on the 20th of the month, therefore, the treaty of Count St. Julien was published by the French Government, as a justification of itself to the nation, and as having been kept secret as long as secrecy was useful.

The feast of the 1st Vendemiaire arrived, and the gloomy expectations that filled every breast were aggravated by the unfavourable state of the weather. The moment had been calculated when new torrents of blood would begin to flow; and even the levity of the thoughtless Parisians yielded to the apprehensions that were entertained for the fate of some beloved brother, son, or friend. Every heart palpitated with suspense whilst the Consuls were attending to the funeral discourse delivered in honour of Kleber and Desaix; but after the Minister of the Interior had addressed the immense multitude, collected in the Temple of Mars, in a speech relating only to the feast, he surprised the assembly by announcing tidings worthy of such a festival, contained in a despatch from General Moreau, received by telegraph that morning.

#### TELEGRAPHIC BULLETIN.

Line of Strasburg.

*Moreau, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Rhine to General Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic.*

Head-quarters, Sept. 20.

"I HAVE concluded a new armistice: the three places of Ingoldstadt, Ulm, and Philipsburgh, are to be surrendered within five, and evacuated within ten, days.

(A true copy)

"CHAPPE."

The Minister then communicated the following note

to the citizens assembled in the Temple of Mars, to celebrate the fête of the Republic.

*The First Consul to the Public Functionaries of the Departments.*

“ The preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris on the 9th Thermidor (July 28), between Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Count St. Julien, and ratified, twenty-four hours after, by the Consuls, when Citizen Duroc was directed to carry them to Vienna. The intrigues of the faction inimical to peace, which appears still to enjoy some credit, have induced the Emperor to refuse ratifying them. This refusal was founded upon a note from the King of England, who demanded that his envoys should be admitted to the Congress of Luneville, conjointly with the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor.

“ The Government was then forced to break off the armistice, in order not to lose the remainder of the autumn in vain parlies.

“ General Moreau had orders to communicate to the enemy's General the preliminaries, such as they have been printed in the Official Journal, and to make known to him, that if they were not ratified in twenty-four hours, or if his Imperial Majesty demanded ulterior explanations, he should surrender to the French army the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburgh, if not, that hostilities would re-commence.

“ The Government also made known to the King of England, that it saw no inconvenience in admitting his envoys to the Congress of Luneville, if he would consent to a naval truce, that should guarantee to France the same advantages which the continuation of the continental truce afforded to the Emperor.

“ The Government has this moment received telegraphic news, that his Majesty, the Emperor, has himself proceeded to join his army on the Inn, and consented to,



surrender the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philippsburg, which are this day occupied by the troops of the Republic; and that M. de Lehrbach, furnished with the necessary powers from his Majesty the Emperor, is at head quarters, at Alt-Oettingen, with orders to repair to Luneville.'

"The difficulties which the conditions of a maritime truce naturally present, will still lead to some delays; but if the two governments do not agree on the conditions of the truce, then France and his Majesty, the Emperor, will treat separately for a particular peace on the basis of the preliminaries; and if, which cannot be imagined, the English party still should be able to influence the Minister of Vienna, the troops of the Republic will fear neither snow, nor the rigour of the seasons, and carry on the war to all extremity during the winter, without leaving time for the enemy to form new armies.

"Thus the principles of the French government are extreme moderation in the conditions, but a firm resolution to restore a speedy peace to the continent.

"The most vigorous measures have been taken to second, in this essential object, the will of the French people.

"Such is the whole secret of the politics of their government."

On the second Complimentary day, 8th year (19th September, 1800), the Emperor empowered the Count Lehrbach and Baron Laner to treat with Lahorie, general of brigade of the French Army, when a convention for the further suspension of hostilities was ratified, dated Hehenlinden, the 19th of September, 1800 (third Complimentary day of the 8th year).

The conferences relative to the naval armistice, which had been carried on between M. Otto, the French commissary at London, for the exchange of prisoners, and certain confidential persons appointed by the English

ministry, in consequence of a communication made to M. Talleyrand, by the Imperial minister, Baron Thugut, at the request of Lord Minto, on the 11th of August, continued without relaxation until the 8th of October, when the correspondence was closed by M. Otto.

Some hopes had been entertained of bringing this difficult subject to a satisfactory conclusion after the interchange of the first notes ; but those feeble expectations were entirely dissipated from the period when the Emperor had resolved to give up his fortresses. Several projects had passed between the negotiators, when M. Otto desired a verbal explanation of the leading points in discussion ; and, in the course of conversation with Mr. Hammond, threw out the most pointed assertions of the determination of France, in the event of the naval armistice not being concluded, to pursue the course of her victories in Germany and Italy, and of the facilities which the conquest of Naples and Sicily (events which he regarded as inevitable) would afford to the French government of obtaining, by force, those objects relative to Egypt and Malta, which impeded the British ministry from agreeing to the armistice.

No sooner had Bonaparte ascertained, by the result of Mr. Hammond's conversation with M. Otto, that the British continued firm in their resolutions than he ordered that the negotiations should cease, as far as they referred to the congress of Luneville. In consequence of instructions to that effect, M. Otto informed the British ministry that the notes last exchanged, and several important events that had subsequently changed the basis upon which the armistice had been proposed, determined the First Consul to put an end to the negotiation upon that footing ; but that he was, notwithstanding, invariably disposed to receive any overtures relative to a separate negotiation between France and Great Britain, and that the mode of such overture entirely depended upon the option of his Majesty : that when the King should

think proper to send for that purpose a plenipotentiary to Paris, he was authorised not only to consent to such a measure, but to deliver to him the necessary passports. That if, on the contrary, his Britannic Majesty preferred that the preliminary negotiations should open at London, special powers would be sent to him for that purpose.

Peace was thus attainable; yet it is unaccountable how capriciously the English cabinet conducted itself, having wasted two months in a squabble which every man of common sense must have been fully convinced would terminate in nothing; and which, even if it had proved favourable, would only have been a preparatory step towards peace, and yet that self same cabinet refused to treat at a period when peace itself became the very object of the negotiation !

*Letter from Mr. Hammond to M. Otto.*

“ Sir,                      Downing-street, October 9th, 1800.

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date; and I am directed in return to acquaint you, that his Majesty's government entirely agrees in the opinion there expressed, that all further discussion of the terms of a naval armistice would be superfluous, as the only object which it was proposed to his Majesty to secure by such an arrangement has, in the mean time, been made the ground of separate sacrifices required from his ally.

“ With respect to the proposal of opening negotiations for a separate peace; his Majesty, retaining always the sincere desire which he has uniformly expressed, for the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, must, at the same time, renew his former declarations of an invariable determination to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his allies; and must, therefore, steadily decline to enter into any measures tending to separate his interests from those of the powers who

shall continue to make a common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

“ I am, &c.

(Signed) “ GEORGE HAMMOND.”

The necessity of continuing the war for the interest of his allies, as here expressed in the King of England's name, affirmed pretty strongly that the Emperor did not sincerely design to make peace, at least it gave the French a pretence for suspecting him ; and, whether it was a mere pretence or not that was required, the Consul took such measures as plainly indicated that he should not act upon the idea of peace until it actually took place.

Count Cobentzel, the Austrian prime minister, was appointed to treat with the brother of the First Consul (Joseph Bonaparte) at Luneville, and the armistice which had been agreed upon, both in Germany and Italy, was observed by the main armies ; this however, did not prevent the French troops from seizing upon the states of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in consequence of the Austrian armies recruiting in his dominions, and owing to the English ships taking shelter in his principal port ; namely, Leghorn.

Of all the powers that had entered into the alliance against France, the Grand Duke had evinced the least zeal, and had acted most from necessity, and the ruin preparing for him was not called for by any species of violent or dishonourable hostility he had attempted, but because he was a branch of the House of Austria.

Bonaparte did not long enjoy the exultation arising from the repeated disappointments experienced by the English ; nor did the French people continue long under a delusion as to the safety of Malta ; for before it was known in France what effect the confident assertions of M. Otto upon that head would produce in the British

cabinet, news was received there of the surrender of that island to the British forces.

The French papers admitted that in the blockade of Malta, for two years and five days, the English had displayed an equal degree of firmness and intrepidity. "Their vessels were constantly cruising," they stated, "before the ports of the island, braving and defying storms and seasons:" the French garrison and the inhabitants, in the mean time, underwent the most dreadful privations; for a long period they were reduced to subsist on asses' and mules' flesh, which sold at eighteen pence per pound. Towards the conclusion of the siege, the houses were searched for rats and mice, for food! a fowl, at that period, cost upwards of three pounds; a sucking pig was sold for 500 florins; an egg for one shilling, and every other article in proportion! The only provision left was bread, the French having found on their arrival immense magazines of corn. Eight hundred of the garrison are said, however, to have perished during the blockade through famine and disease. Indeed, it would be impossible to bestow too much praise upon the zeal, patience, skill, and indefatigable exertions of the British officers, both marine and military, as well as the soldiers and sailors employed upon that service; for General Pigot, in his despatches, passed great encomiums upon General Moncrief and his aid-de-camp Captain Dalrymple, as also, upon Captain Ball, of the navy, and Lieutenant Vivian, of the military; but, more particularly, upon General Graham, whose promptitude had forced the place to surrender much earlier than it otherwise would have done.

The loss of Malta was deeply regretted by the French government, as might be argued by the pains taken by the French journalists to offer to the public by way of compensation the conclusion of a treaty with America.

At this period the First Consul tolerated the return of the emigrants to their native country, from a general list

of whom it appeared, that no less than *one hundred and fifty thousand individuals* had fled the Republican territory. An order was, in consequence, published by Fouché, then Minister of Police, and during the sitting of government, on the 12th October, 1820; the Consuls of the Republic, upon the report of the Minister of Police, issued their decree, authorising the return of those unfortunate exiles to the enjoyment of their homes in peace, after such a sad and wretched period of banishment.

If the Consul was endeavouring to put his army upon the best footing, by rewarding his generals and flattering his troops, the Emperor was not less active in preparing for the alternative of war. The Archduke Charles was recalled to defend the hereditary states; and, that he might the more impressively appeal to the zeal and patriotism of the people, he issued a proclamation from the palace of Prague. This document stated, that, earnestly as his Majesty the Emperor and King endeavoured to procure an honourable and lasting peace for the whole of his hereditary dominions, and much as it was to be wished, in honour of suffering humanity, after a long period of devastation, that the enemy would join for the same purpose; it nevertheless continued advisable and necessary to be prepared for the worst, if, contrary to the hopes and wishes of the Emperor, the obstinate refusal and extravagant demands of the enemy should oblige him to make the greatest possible preparations for the general defence.

The decisive moment (it was said) had arrived, and prudence demanded that sufficient and speedy means should be resorted to. Extraordinary armaments were set on foot in Hungary, Transylvania, Moravia, Austria, Bohemia, and Silesia, which were to be under the immediate command of his Imperial Highness, and the dangers of the country were most pathetically displayed to the nations, which were called upon to avert them. "No choice," said the Archduke, "is left to us between de-

struction and preservation, between ignominy and honour; and," he continued, "I am fully persuaded, that, by a noble emulation of the behaviour of our loyal and brave ancestors, on similar occasions, the security and happiness of the country will be maintained, as it has hitherto been gloriously preserved."

Preparations for war could not, indeed, fail to occupy the principal attention of both parties during the existing as well as the former armistice, for France was inflexibly determined not to treat with Austria in conjunction with any other power, and the Emperor as positively declared his resolution not to treat without Great Britain.

It was by no means favourable to conciliation, that the Emperor Paul, at that period laid claim to the title of Grand Master of Malta, whilst the English favoured the pretensions of Baron Hompesch, one of its knights, whose known gallantry and fidelity to the order gave him every advantage over a sovereign, whose only plea was, that of self-election.

Moreau, during the suspension of hostilities, had returned to his native country and married: but the stern alarms of war called him from the soft pleasures of love; and, after sixteen days, he was obliged to quit his bride and repair to head-quarters. He published an address to his soldiers, in which he requested them to exhibit the same gallantry and disregard to the rigours of the season, which they had before displayed when employed in the defence of Fort Kehl and the conquest of Holland.

Moreau was now at the head of the most numerous army France had ever sent into Germany, and, proceeding in quest of the enemy, their advanced guards encountered each other at Haag, where the Austrians obtained a superiority.

The Archduke John headed the Imperial troops: flushed with some partial successes, he collected all his forces, marched in search of the French, and attacked them with an unusual degree of vigour. The battle com-

menced at seven o'clock in the morning, between the rivers Ider and Inn, on the heights which extend from Bierkrain to Neumarck, and near the very spot (Hohenlinden) where the armistice had, a short time before, been ratified.

This was an important battle, and one that seemed worthy to decide the fate of an empire: there were many circumstances which tended to render it fatal to the Austrians; amongst others, a severe fall of snow, which precluded that regularity and conformity in the operations which must always accompany a combined movement, or without which, the utmost stretch of human genius can effect nothing. Still, however, the gallant ardour of the troops was not diminished by this derangement of the original plan; and such was the determined bravery displayed on both sides, that victory, for a time, hung in suspense.

Moreau, however, anticipated the intentions of the Archduke, and having ordered General Richepanse to assail the centre column in flank at the moment it commenced an attack, this unexpected evolution produced inconceivable confusion, and the left being penetrated nearly at the same time, added to other difficulties, the Austrians were forced to retire at three o'clock in the afternoon, when Moreau hung with such determined impetuosity upon their rear, that night alone saved them from total destruction. In this battle were taken the greatest part of the baggage, more than eighteen thousand prisoners, and nearly one hundred pieces of cannon. The enemy fled in disorder beyond the Inn, and in their flight carried dismay and consternation.

In order to improve the advantages gained by the splendid victory at Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, 1800, Moreau, still advancing towards the Austrian capital, proceeded rapidly to Saltzburgh: the advantages of occupying this post were numerous, and they were all foreseen by that able general: in his route, however, it



was necessary to pass two rivers, the Inn and the Salza : the former rises in the country of the Grisons, passes through Tyrol and Bavaria, and falls into the Danube near Passau; its bed is deep and it has a rapid current. It was considered by Marshal Turenne as one of the strongest military barriers in Europe: its right bank, from the Alps to its junction with the Danube, is fortified by a chain of rocks. The Salza is neither so large nor so rapid as the Inn, yet it is a river of considerable magnitude: Saltzburgh is situated on its right bank, about one hundred and forty miles west-south-west from Vienna.

Moreau having to pass these streams, the retreating Austrians were enabled to retard his march, and, in some degree, weaken his force: still, however, the French finally prevailed over obstacles that, to a less persevering army, or to one less accustomed to conquer, would have been considered as insurmountable. The Inn was crossed, December 9th, at Nieupeurien, between Rosenheim and Kuffstein, at Wasserburg and at Muhlthorff; the Salza between Saltzburgh and Lauffen.

The greatest part of the Austrian army was concentrated on the ground, between Lauffen and Saltzburg, which was on the 12th December. A division, under General Lecourbe, was ordered to advance on the right bank of the Saal, and another, under General Decaen, by Lauffen; while a corps of reserve, under Generals Richpanse and Grouchy, was ready to support either Lecourbe or Decaen, according as circumstances might render it necessary. General Lecourbe passed the Saal on the 13th December, without much difficulty, and made himself master of the village of Waal. General Decaen, having arrived near Lauffen, found the bridge broken down, and the enemy defending the heights which command it. At this critical juncture an act of bravery was performed: three chasseurs threw themselves into the Saal, in spite of the intense cold, and swam over for

some boats on the opposite side ; meanwhile others advanced and kept up a discharge of musketry along the ruins of the bridge. About eighty men passed the river in the boats that had been seized ; and before this handful of soldiers a party of Austrians retreated and left two hundred prisoners ! Such a paltry resistance served only to add fresh vigour to an enemy already full of overweening confidence, and at the same time contributed to spread a general sense of inferiority and a strong feeling of timidity throughout the Austrian army.

The commander-in-chief ordered Grenier to advance with his two divisions to Lauffen, and the same orders were issued to Generals Grouchy and Richepanse ; a new bridge was thrown across the river, and five hundred men, under the command of General Lecourbe, passed over it : they were continuing their route, when, on the morning of the 14th, the Austrians presented themselves in a large body. General Lecourbe knew his inferiority, and consequently, fell back, contenting himself with defending the road and maintaining possession of the village of Waal. A severe action took place ; but still Lecourbe preserved his position until assisted by the whole division of Decaen, which had passed the river, and in advancing kept up a terrible fire of artillery on all that opposed it ; this movement favoured also the passage of a division under Richepanse, which now began to form on the right bank.

In the night of the 14th the Austrians retreated precipitately, and the French entered Saltzburgh at eight o'clock in the morning ; General Richepanse, with the left division of the French army, pursued the Imperialists along the road to Linz and entered Newmack, the last post in Bavaria, on the frontiers of the Hereditary States of the Emperor. The Archduke John, whose headquarters were removed to Braunau, on the Lower Inn, was, by this manoeuvre, cut off from all communication with the Austrian commander, General Mollitor, in the Tyrol,

who had a force of about twenty-five thousand men, but who had no communication except with General Bellegarde.

A perilous enterprise was, in the meantime, effected by General Macdonald.—He had passed, in the first weeks of December, the Rhetian Alps, by the defiles of the Splügen and through Chiavenna, at the head of a column, in order to support the left wing of the Italian army, under the command of General Brune. The intrepid perseverance of the General could alone have brought to a successful completion this undertaking; he led, in person, the pioneers nearly to the summit of the Splügen, which was filled up, and as it were obliterated, by the drifted snow. He set the example of working to open a passage which was effected; but the foremost party had not advanced far when the path was again covered, and his grenadiers, sinking in the snow, began to believe that it was impossible to proceed further: even the very poles, that had been set up for marks, were covered with the snow, which still continued to fall. The General, however, was the first to advance at the head of the pioneers and sound the road: those who were near him he animated by his voice and example, and at length conducted his troops through all the dangers of the Splügen, and, on the 11th of December, gained the valley of the Adda, in the Valtelline, by which means a communication was opened with General Brune: at the same time, he was master of both banks of the Upper Inn and of the Upper Engadine, and thus mutual communications were established. The *Engadine*, or, as it is called by the natives and the neighbouring states, *Engadina*, is a country of the Grisons; it extends along the bank of the river Inn, from its source to the Tyrolese, and is divided into the Upper and the Lower Engadine.

While these combined operations were carrying on, the Gallo-Batavian army, under Angereau, whose right wing was to protect and co-operate with the left of Mo-

reau's, gained some important advantages over the Austrians in Franconia. On the rupture of the armistice the Baron D'Albini, who commanded the troops of Mayence, stationed at Aschaffenburg, attacked the Batavian infantry. Augereau having received intelligence from Moreau that the Austrians had assembled, to the number of twelve or thirteen thousand, before Bamberg, resolved to give them battle with two divisions of his army, and to drive them beyond the Rednitz: they occupied, besides the village, the two first heights that command Burgh-Eberach. They were driven from the village and the first height; they, however, made a resolute stand on the second, but were forced to relinquish that also, after an obstinate resistance. General Duhesme took possession of Bamberg on the 3d December. Augereau, informed of the success of the army of the Rhine, withdrawing his right wing from Rednitz, took possession of Furchem and Nuremburg, and there intended to wait for further advices from Moreau. It was the object of the Austrians to cut off, if possible, the communication between Augereau and Moreau, and to turn the left of the latter's army. Nothing but slight skirmishes took place from the 8d to the 17th; but a bloody battle was fought on the 18th between Nuremburg and Lauff; it lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till the close of day. The engagement was equally fierce on both sides: the assailants were forced to fall back, but the loss was supposed to be nearly equal in either army: a hundred waggons were loaded with dead and wounded Austrians.

Such was the situation of affairs when the Imperial army of the Danube moved from Braunau, and, on the 16th of December, took an advantageous position behind the Traun. The command of the army was assumed by the Archduke Charles, *with full powers*; a measure which had long been denied him. A battle took place, in which the Austrians lost, in killed and wounded, from three to five hundred; one thousand were taken pri-

soners, six hundred of whom were cavalry, with General Lopez, their commander. They sustained another defeat, on the heights of Lambach, by Richepanse, who drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great loss. The imperial army then retreated to Lintz, within ninety-two miles of Vienna: the French continued to advance, and, on the 20th December, fixed their head-quarters at Wells.

The French army had now penetrated into the heart of Germany, and threatened even the capital: their rapid successes, and the indefatigable manner in which they followed up those advantages, allowed no time to the retreating Austrians to recover themselves; this perfection of military skill was well understood by Moreau, admirable not only in his plans but decisive in their execution; the celerity with which he pushed them one upon the other confounded his enemies; if he attacked and conquered, he followed the discomfited foes with such perseverance, that no time could be gained by them to reinstate themselves. In conformity with this system, he then marshalled his army into three columns, of which the right, under Lecourbe, advanced towards the mountains south of Steyer on the Ens: the centre, commanded by Moreau himself, set out for Steyer; and the left under Grenier, which had marched along the south banks of the Danube, and forced the Austrians to retreat from Lintz across the river, proceeded on the high road from Lintz towards Vienna. On the 24th, Richepanse, with the advanced guard of the centre column, entered Steyer, in which he found seventeen pieces of cannon, and made four thousand prisoners. On the 25th, the French began to proceed onward to the next river, the Erlaph, and the Austrians to retire behind the Trazen, the last river of any note, within fifty miles of Vienna.

Thus critically situated, all was confusion, consternation, and dismay, within that extensive city; terror reigned in the countenances of all, except those, who, dis-

affected to the government, expected, from the arrival of the French, something, though they knew not what. In proportion as the common enemy approached their spirits rose; they had meetings, and anticipated scenes of glorious uproar and ruin; they took no pains to conceal their sentiments, and the loyal and the virtuous felt their dread increase when they saw traitors within the walls and enemies without. The city was in a state of utter confusion; trade was stopped; families kept within doors, and scarcely ventured into the streets; distrust and suspicion prevailed; the wealthy trembled for their money and their palaces; the honest artisan, the industrious tradesman, shuddered at the thought of seeing his little property pilaged by a band of lawless invaders, who would ravage and spoil wherever they entered; they looked upon their families and wept, as they thought that a few days might behold them a prey to ruffian violence and sanguinary cruelty. The consternation was increased by the departure of the Imperial family, which set out for Offen, escorted by a party of the life-guards. The gallery of paintings, with the Imperial treasury, other valuable articles, and the city treasury, were placed in waggons, all ready to be removed from the capital: such preparations could not fail to excite the most lively alarm; but the fears of the good were quieted, and the hopes of the factions were frustrated by the arrival of the Archduke Charles, at Vienna, on the 27th of December, at ten in the morning, who brought the consolatory intelligence of his having concluded an armistice at Steyer, of thirty days, with General Moreau.

This armistice was a measure perhaps equally necessary to both armies; as appeared from a candid statement of the General of Division, Desolles, to the French Minister at War, which was dated from Steyer, the 26th December, 1800.

By this armistice, the French army of the Rhine obtained a triangular portion of territory, whose base rested

on Chiavenna and Wurtzburg, and whose point was between Leoben and Pachlarn on the Danube, within fifty-two English miles from Vienna. This document comprehended the Gallo-Batavian army, as well as that of the Rhine; its duration was to be for thirty days, and hostilities were not to be re-commenced after its expiration, until a previous notice of fifteen days had been given: the armistice might, therefore, be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of the rupture. No corps or detachments, either of the French army of the Rhine, or that of his Imperial Majesty in Germany, were to be sent to the respective armies in Italy, so long as there should be no armistice between the French and the Imperial armies in that country. In addition to this, Moreau promised to despatch, with the utmost diligence, the present convention to the General-in-Chief of the Gallo-Batavian army, that of the Grisons, and that of Italy; urging them strongly at the same time, particularly the army of Italy, to conclude a suspension of hostilities.

Our readers will recollect that an armistice was concluded between the French and Austrians after the celebrated battle of Marengo, by which convention the French army was to occupy the country comprised between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po; and the Austrians, besides certain territories that were specified on the left bank of the Po, were to occupy the city and citadel of Ferrara, on the right bank; they were also to occupy Tuscany and Ferrara. Contrary, however, to this stipulation, the Austrians continued to keep possession not only of the town and citadel, but also of a large territory called the Polesino of Ferrara: nor was this the only point likely to create dispute; at the same time, a general insurrection of the people in Tuscany took place; hostilities were, therefore, on the point of being recommenced, when General Brune, informed of the signing of preliminaries by Count St. Julien, at Paris, and of the arrival of Count Cobentzel, at Luneville, im-

mediately communicated his intention to General Bellegarde, that, until he received further orders from his government, he should suspend the motions of the military forces under his command. This insurrection of the people of Tuscany was, more properly speaking, a sort of *levy en masse*; and, in the preliminaries above-mentioned, the Emperor had engaged for the disarming of that force.

A new convention was agreed to on the 20th of September, at Castiglione, by which General Brune consented to wait for an answer from Vienna, relative to the evacuation of the districts of Ferrara by the Austrians; and, in this treaty, an utter silence was preserved with regard to the disarming the *levy en masse*. The French general, however, insisted upon this as a matter of course, for it was supposed that this *levy* was paid by the English, more especially as it had been reinforced by a corps from Naples. The whole, however, was a mere pretext on the part of the French to have some plea for an eruption into Tuscany; a scheme which they considered as necessary, lest, in case of a renewal of war, the English should land in that quarter, a measure of which they were extremely apprehensive, and was certainly intended. In pursuit of this object a general officer, with a small escort, was sent by General Dupont, in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, to General Sommariva, who commanded the troops in Tuscany, with a request that he would disarm the *levy en masse*, or, as it is called, the national guard; and also disperse the brigands, or parties of robbers. It was also further signified to Sommariva, that if the armed peasants were not disbanded, and quietly sent back to their homes, he would enter Tuscany with a military force, and punish them for the incessant outrages which they committed upon the territories occupied by the French army. Promises of compliance were given by Sommariva, but never fulfilled; and Lieutenant-General Dupont entered Florence, on the 15th of October, with



a great army, which he had concentrated on the left bank of the Po, while General Clement, on the 16th, entered Leghorn.

The insurgents were easily dispersed; General Sommariva and the Austrians under his command, to the number of 2,500, were permitted to retire to Ancona. The merchandise of the English found in Tuscany, and more particularly that which was seized in Leghorn, was confiscated. By the armistice of Marengo, Leghorn had been permitted to retain its neutrality; yet, in contempt of the established usages of civilized nations, the French disregarded that immunity, and captured the property of the English. We were, indeed, too alert for their rapacity, as, from our maritime superiority, we shipped off the greater part of the merchandise stationed in that port.

It appeared, at first, to have been the plan of the French to fall upon the Austrians on the Lake of Garda, and then turn the lines of Mincio; this, however, did not take place; other arrangements, in consequence of the reports received respecting the Austrian army, were adopted, which finally led to such successes, that an Austrian colonel arrived at the French head-quarters, and proposed conditions of an armistice, which was concluded on the 16th of January, 1801, at Treviso, the capital of the Venetian province of Trevisano, within twenty miles of Venice. The line of demarcation between the two armies was the Tagliamento, from its source in the mountains of the Tyrol to where that stream falls into the Adriatic. The four fortresses of Peschiera, Porto-Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona, were given up to the French; the blockade of Mantua was to be continued: but, by a new armistice, concluded at Luneville, on the 6th of February, the Emperor, as a proof of sincerity, agreed to give up, besides the four fortresses above-mentioned, that also of Mantua.

The great object of Bonaparte in these negotiations is

sufficiently displayed in the answer which he gave to the proposals of peace tendered by the Court of Vienna:—  
 “The left bank of the Rhine shall be the boundary of the French Republic; she makes no pretension to the right bank. The interest of Europe does not permit the Emperor to pass the Adige. The independence of the Helvetic and Batavian Republics shall be insured and guaranteed. Our victories add nothing to the pretensions of the French people. Austria ought not to expect from her defeats that which she could not have obtained by her victories: such are the invariable principals of the government. The welfare of France shall be to restore tranquillity to Germany and Italy; her glory to deliver the continent from the avaricious and destructive genius of England.”

It may be remarked here, that, as Moreau, in the armistice of Steyer, included the Gallo-Batavian army, so General Brune, in his stipulations with General Bellegarde, included that of the Grisons. But Macdonald, who was desirous of performing some feat that might astonish Europe after his passage of the mountains, wrote a captious and peevish letter to General Brune; in which he observed, among other subjects of reproach, that he (Le Brune) had no right to stipulate for the army of the Grisons; the business of which was only to favour the operations of the army of Italy, without giving him (Brune) any right to command. It is easy to observe, that an unjustifiable desire to acquire personal glory, at the expense of humanity and the interests of society, influenced Macdonald, who preferred that opportunity of signalizing himself by some act of greatness to the more dignified renown of sparing the effusion of human blood. This dispute, however, between the two generals was soon terminated by the convention of Luneville, where all the demands of the French were fully complied with. Bonaparte had now accomplished his wish: Germany, which had so long resolved not to treat separately, found

herself reduced to a situation which no longer permitted her to consult her allies ; these successive armistices led the way to a final pacification, and, after various delays, negotiations, and concessions, articles of peace were definitively agreed upon between the First Consul of the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany, concluded at Luneville, on the 9th of February, 1801.

This successful termination of a war which had been carried on with few interruptions for a period of ten years, diffused a general satisfaction throughout France ; and the First Consul immediately notified the joyful event to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate.

“ The continental peace,” said he, “ has been signed at Luneville ; it is such as the French people desired. Their first wish was the boundary of the Rhine. Reverses never shook their resolution ; victory never added to their pretensions.

“ After having re-established the ancient limits of Gaul, they had to give freedom to the people who were united to them by one common origin, as well as by a community of interests and manners.

“ The liberty of the Cisalpines and of Liguria is secured.

“ After this duty, there was another, which justice and generosity imposed.

“ The King of Spain had been faithful to our cause, and suffered for it. Neither our reverses, nor the perfidious insinuations of our enemies, could detach him from our interests ; he will have a just recompense ; a prince of his blood is to sit on the throne of Tuscany.

“ He will remember what he owes to the fidelity of Spain and to the friendship of France ; his roadsteads and his ports will be shut against our enemies, and will become the asylum of our commerce and our ships.

“ Austria, and it is this which is the pledge of peace, — Austria, henceforth separated from the Republic by

vast regions, will no longer feel that rivalry, those heart-burnings, which, for so many ages, have occasioned the torment of these two powers, and the calamities of Europe.

“By this treaty every thing is settled with respect to France; it will no longer have to struggle against the forms and intrigues of a congress.

“The government owes the expression of its satisfaction to the Minister Plenipotentiary who has conducted the negotiation to this happy termination. There remain neither interpretations to be feared nor explanations to be demanded, nor those equivocal arrangements in which the diplomatic art deposits the seeds of a new war.

“Wherefore was not this treaty the treaty of a general peace? this was the wish of France: this was the constant object of the efforts of her government.

“But its desires are fruitless! all Europe knows that the British minister has endeavoured to frustrate the negotiations at Luneville.

“In vain did an agent, authorized by the government, declare to him, on the 9th of October, 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negotiation. This declaration only produced a refusal, under pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since then, when that ally consented to treat without England, that government sought other means to delay a peace so necessary to the world.

“It violates conventions which humanity had consecrated, and declares war against miserable fishermen!

“It raises pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. The whole commerce of Asia, and of immense colonies, does not satisfy its ambition. All the seas must submit to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, because those powers have secured, by treaties of guarantee, their sovereignty and the independence of their flags.

“The powers of the North, unjustly attacked, have a right to calculate upon France. The French government will avenge with them a common injury to all nations; without forgetting that it ought only to fight for peace and the good of the world.”

The treaty of Luneville being signed, Italy and Germany were at the nod of Bonaparte. Those great countries, extending from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Lower Rhine, the French contemplated as one continued scene of victory, power, and triumph. The Emperor of Germany had sustained many reverses of fortune, and it cannot be denied that he had gallantly maintained a contest, the propriety of whose origin remained a problem to the politicians of that day. Humbled as he now was, there appeared every probability of a lasting peace; he would not, indeed he could not, very soon be in a condition to renew hostilities; and the First Consul thus saw the boundaries of France enlarged, and his own power daily acquiring a greater stability.

The French fête, in honour of the peace of 1801, took place on the 9th of November, at Paris, with great brilliancy and éclat. On the Pont Neuf was raised a magnificent triumphal arch. Opposite to the port of St. Nicholas was a temple dedicated to commerce, and built on boats spliced and boarded over. Fire works were let off from boats placed by the side of that temple. The arches on the Pont Neuf were covered with circular frames, loaded with variegated lamps. The elegant baths of Vigier gave to this illumination a picturesque effect. Farther on appeared the Altar of Invalides, at the gate of which had been raised a triumphal arch, decorated with antique crowns. From the basement hung a globe, bespangled with stars; and a frame, placed above the keystone of the arch, exhibited in letters of fire, of prodigious dimensions, the name of Bonaparte. Four pyramids were displayed along the front. Near the Place de Concorde an immense theatre was constructed, on which

was elevated the Temple of Peace. It was supported by ninety-four columns of the Ionic order, disposed in a right angle of ten to sixteen. Two other temples, on a smaller scale, were erected beside that in honour of Peace. On both sides of the grand alley of the Tuileries were raised arcades, with sub-basements, while the octagonal basin was illuminated in all its circumference.

On the morning of the fête an appropriate proclamation was issued by the Chief Consul.

## CHAP. XI.

*European Politics—Views of Napoleon after the Peace of Lunéville—Endeavours to revive the Confederacy of 1780—Ambassador sent to Paris by the Emperor Paul—He arms against England—An English Squadron despatched to Copenhagen—Napoleon's Views respecting the Invasion of Britain—He attacks Portugal—Mediation proposed by Spain, but rejected by England—Spain joins France in the War—Hostilities commenced, and rapid Progress of the Spanish Arms—Peace between Spain and Portugal, to which Napoleon refuses to accede—Operations between the French and Portuguese—Peace concluded—Nelson's two Attacks on Boulogne—Preparations for Peace—Signing of Preliminaries and enthusiastic Joy on that Occasion—The Concordat—Bonaparte consolidates his Power—His Character and Views—Picture of France presented to the Nation—Anecdotes and Traits respecting the First Consul—Canova and the Arts—The Concordat ratified, with Anecdotes on that Occasion—Lord Cornwallis departs for Paris, and marked Honours paid to him—Proceeds to Amiens—Delay in the Negotiations—NAPOLEON repairs to Lyons to meet the Deputies from the Cisalpine Republic, and is appointed its President—Returns to Paris—Disclosure of Secret Treaties with Portugal and the Sublime Porte, and Increase of Territory thereby acquired by the French Republic—Jealousy created in England and vigorous Preparations for a Renewal of War—The Treaty of Peace at length ratified at Amiens.*

HAVING made peace with Austria, Napoleon was now at liberty to bend his undivided attention towards England; for whatsoever might be his hopes of effecting an important blow against this country, at all events he

knew the appearance might assist him two ways; it would serve to keep the army employed, and furnish matter for the attention of the Parisians, who would thus be withdrawn from too close a consideration of his own newly acquired power; and it would also compel us to be continually on the alert, gradually exhaust our resources, and pave the way for a general pacification.

The leading features of the policy of Bonaparte towards England, at this crisis, appear to have been, to excite a confederacy against us among the maritime powers, and to exclude us from all the ports of Europe; then to attack Portugal, our only remaining ally, and, if possible, subdue her; and, finally, by the continued threat of invasion, exhaust our patience and impoverish our finances.

Napoleon was congratulated by the several constituted authorities on the peace which he had ratified with Austria. In his answer, he replied, "France will not reap all the blessings of a pacification, until she shall have a peace with England; but a sort of delirium has seized on that Government, which now holds nothing sacred: its conduct is unjust, not only towards the French people, but the several powers of the continent; and when governments are not just, their authority is but short lived. All the continental powers must force England to fall back into the track of moderation, of equity, and reason." Such was the language then held by Bonaparte towards this country, and it is remarkable what a similarity has prevailed ever since. The liberty of the seas has long been the watch-word, though an unavailing one, and we trust it will ever prove so. Let it never be forgotten, that the navy of England is the only certain bulwark upon which she can ensure her stability, and that once destroyed, her annihilation, though not rapid, would be certain.

Bonaparte failing in this attempt at pacification, continued, with unwearied assiduity, to represent to all maritime nations the overbearing haughtiness and insolence



of this country, and he, in consequence, endeavoured to revive the armed neutrality of 1780; the principle of which was, that free and neutral bottoms made free and neutral trade.

It was sufficient for Napoleon that this idea was plausible and calculated to flatter the wishes of the different maritime powers. By his ministers, and other agents, at the courts of Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin, he insinuated how encouraging the then posture of European affairs was for such a measure, and how great the advantages that would accrue from compelling the English to make peace on reasonable terms.

The effecting this point was not then so difficult: Russia, the most important of the northern powers, was governed by a madman, the Emperor Paul. He had been irritated against the courts of Vienna and London, but especially the latter. Mutual accusations had taken place between the Russian and English generals subsequent to the unsuccessful and disastrous expedition of 1799, to Holland. After the first ebullition of the Emperor's rage against his own officers, his jealousy and resentment was awakened against the English, which was further inflamed by the failure of his schemes in the Mediterranean.

The result was an embassy from Russia to France, on which occasion Bonaparte, with admirable policy, took care to flatter the vanity of Paul, by paying the most extravagant attentions to his representative. The ambassador was received with the most profuse honours: his entry into Paris was announced by the firing of guns, and nothing that he required was refused.

Next to Russia, the power of most importance in the formation of a confederacy against England was Prussia; without her concurrence the effects of any coalition could not prove important or be very lasting, but with her, every thing was to be expected, as Prussia commanded an extensive maritime coast, and the navigation of all the great

rivers from the Rhine to the Eider, on the north of Germany. Bonaparte, therefore, spared no exertions to bring that power into the confederacy, for which purpose he sent his brother Louis to Berlin. Nor was it by secret intrigues alone that he endeavoured to raise this armament against England: he openly avowed his intention, with the reasons on which they were grounded, in a message to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate, mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

The manner in which Bonaparte signified his intention of crushing our maritime supremacy was forwarded to England in a very courteous manner.—About the middle of January, 1801, some valuable books, magnificently bound, were presented to the Royal Society of London, from the National Institute of France; a complimentary letter accompanied that present, signed—*Bonaparte, President of the National Institute and First Consul of France*: and on the letter was a finely executed vignette, representing *Liberty sailing on the open ocean in a shell*, with the following motto:

“Liberté de mer.”

The progress of the Northern Confederacy became every day more marked; Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, entered into it with avidity. Denmark had long been a pacific nation, never having engaged in war for upwards of eighty years; it might, therefore, have been presumed that she would reluctantly enter the lists; yet it is remarkable that that power was the first, the last, and the only government, that was engaged in actual hostilities.

Thus delicately situated the English ministry adopted the expedient of forwarding negotiators, backed by a powerful fleet, bearing its *ultimatum*, which required that Denmark should secede from the Northern Alliance, and grant a free passage through the Sound to the British fleet. This was rejected, and Messrs. Drummond and Vansittart, the envoys, returned home. The result was

the battle of Copenhagen, under the command of Lord Nelson, which produced a flag of truce from the Danish Government, and the ratification of the Act of Accession by his Majesty, the King of Denmark, &c. to the Convention, was ultimately signed on the 17th of June, 1801.

During these events, the conspiracy took place against the Emperor Paul, at Petersburg, who was assassinated, upon which the new Emperor Alexander, being instantly proclaimed, declared for the laws and system of his grandmother Catharine. Among the first acts of the new monarch's reign was, the release of all British seamen, whom his predecessor had incarcerated; peace and good understanding were established between the Courts of Petersburg and London, and the disputes of Great Britain and the other northern powers were amicably adjusted, by which a period was put to the great northern confederacy, so ably planned against England by the Consular Government of France.

Bonaparte, disappointed at this amicable adjustment of our affairs in the North, and daily receiving news of the prosperous issue of our arms in Egypt, felt himself, as it were, cut off from all hopes and possibility of annoying us externally: yet the same motives for action still prevailed in his mind. England, he foresaw, would be a constant impediment in his way; it might not, indeed, from its situation, it could not operate immediately to his prejudice, by checking or subverting any of his act, or schemes of ambition; yet still it would be a constant enemy, whose motions would perpetually excite his alarms; and a powerful one, that might annihilate his navy, and, ultimately, shake his power. It has been imagined, that Bonaparte, notwithstanding his sanguine character, and the gigantic plans which his mind had devised, and his prowess executed, never seriously believed it possible to effect any thing upon our own shores. Whether such was the fact, let the following statement manifest, which is extracted from part 2, vol. i. page 276,

of the *Journal of Law Cases*, to whom Napoleon thus expressed himself, when conversing upon the momentous subject in question.

"Well, well," said Bonaparte, smiling, "you may have laughed at the idea of this invasion in the Parisian circles, but Pitt did not laugh in London; he was soon aware of the full extent of the danger to be apprehended; and, on that account, loaded me with a coalition at the moment I was raising my arm to strike the blow. Never did the English oligarchy stand in so much danger.

"I had specially provided for the embarkation; I headed the best army that ever entered the field; to say it was that of Austerlitz is sufficient. Four days would have sufficed to conduct me to London; I would not have entered that capital as a conqueror, but a deliverer; I would have renewed the epoch of William III. but with more generosity and disinterestedness. The discipline throughout my army would have been perfect, my troops would have conducted themselves in London as if they had been in Paris; no sacrifices, not even contributions should have been exacted from the English; we would not have presented ourselves as conquerors, but brethren, who came to restore to them their rights and liberties. I would have told them to assemble and labour themselves for their own regeneration, that they were our elders on the score of political legislation; that we did not seek to interfere otherwise than to participate in their happiness and prosperity, and I would sacredly have performed my promise. But a few months would have elapsed ere those two nations, such implacable enemies, would thenceforward have composed one people, identified by the same principles, maxims, and interests; and I should have departed thence, only to operate in the south and north, under the Republican Standard, (I was then First Consul, observed Napoleon,) the regeneration of Europe, which at a later period I was on the point of effecting in the north and south, under monarchical forms. And

both those systems might have proved equally beneficial; because they tended alike to the same end, and would have equally operated with firmness, moderation, and good faith. How many evils known to us, how many ills of which we are not yet aware, would have been spared to poor Europe! Never yet was conceived a project more enlarged as regarded the interests of civilization, combined with intentions more generous, and which approached so nearly to its consummation. What is still very remarkable, those impediments, which caused the failure of my plans, did not originate with man; they were all due to the elements: in the south, I was frustrated by the ocean; the conflagration of Moscow, with the ice and snow of winter, annihilated me in the north; thus water, air, and fire, all nature, in short, and nothing but nature: such were the enemies of a universal regeneration, commanded by nature herself! The problems of Providence are incomprehensible!!!” After continuing silent for a few minutes, says Count Las Cases, the Emperor thus continued to develop the plans of his intended invasion.

“ It was conceived that my invasion was a mere menace; because no reasonable means for my attempting it were manifest. I had dispersed all our ships of war; and the English were compelled to sail after them to all quarters of the globe. Our vessels, however, had no other object in view but to return as unexpectedly as possible, and all at once, in order to assemble in mass upon our coasts. I should have had from seventy to eighty French and Spanish ships in the channel. I had calculated that I should continue master of that sea for two months; I had three or four thousand small craft awaiting only the signal; my hundred thousand troops daily manœuvred in embarking and landing; they abounded in ardour and good will, added to which, the enterprise was very popular throughout France, and was looked for by a great portion of the people of England. My landing once effected, I had only to calculate upon a single grand engagement;

the result could not be dubious, and victory made us masters of London; for the nature of the country did not admit of any chicanery: the rest would have been accomplished by my own moral conduct.

“The English groaned under the yoke of their oligarchy. As soon as they had found that their national pride was respected, they would instantly have ranged themselves on our side; and we should then have been hailed merely as allies presenting ourselves to effect their deliverance.—We should have stood forth with the magic words, Liberty, Equality, &c.” After this statement, delivered by Napoleon himself, it is conceived no further doubts can be entertained as to the decided intention which he had formed of attempting the invasion of this country.

As the preparatives that were resorted to by the English administration to repel the efforts of our enemy must still be fresh in the recollection of the generality of our readers, we do not conceive it necessary to descant upon that topic, but regularly follow the thread of our history.

Napoleon having failed with the northern confederacy, resolved to forsake, for awhile, the faithless element of the seas, on which we rode triumphant, and attack us by a more circuitous route, and by which he promised himself more success. Portugal, our old and faithful ally, attracted his ambition; and whether the advantages of subjugating that state would be great or little, it would, at all events, serve as a rallying point, and a tocsin to sound, at all times, the alarm of war.

Portugal was considered and spoken of by the French as a mere colony in the hands of the English. The Portuguese were disposed to continue in habits of close intercourse and friendship with us, and they were proud of our protection. If the English government would have supplied them with an army as well as a navy, the general voice of the court and nation would have cheerfully embarked the fortune and fate of Portugal with that

of Britain. Our ministers appeared for some time to have embraced the resolution of defending Portugal; and so late as October 1801, Spain offered herself as a mediator between France and Portugal: but to this the British cabinet would not consent; ministers rather chose to attempt rousing the Portuguese to war, with the promise of military succours, provided a person recommended by Great Britain should be employed to fill the office of Commander-in-chief of the forces in Portugal, instead of the actual Commandant, who, from age, was not capable of acting with a sufficient degree of judgement for his country. The Court of Lisbon did not take this advice; it agreed, however, that, if this country would furnish an army of 25,000 men, the British ministry might, in such case, appoint a commander: to which our cabinet would not accede; and the force destined for Portugal was, therefore, conveyed to Egypt.

Spain was not allowed to remain at peace: it seemed to be the policy of Bonaparte to suffer no neutral states, but coalesce the whole world in war, and Spain declared hostilities against Portugal on the 3d of March, 1801. It was not, however, till the 26th of April that a proclamation to that effect, or, rather, of defence, was issued by the Portuguese Government.

The attack on Portugal was to be made by the French and Spaniards in two different directions: the former were to march towards Oporto and Lisbon, while the latter were to penetrate into Alentejo, the largest, the most fertile, and the best cultivated province of Portugal, extending in breadth eighty miles, and in length two hundred.

The Spanish army, from thirty to forty thousand strong, under the command of the Prince of Peace, from different points, entered Alentejo on the 20th of May. All was rapid progress on one part and precipitate retreat on the other. By the 6th of June, the Spaniards had reduced Elvas, Campo-major, Arrouches, Fior-de-Pesa

Estremoz, and, in a word, all the strong places and magazines of Alentejo. On the above day preliminaries of peace were signed between Portugal and Spain, at Badajos; the principal conditions being, that the town, fortress, and province of Olivença, were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English. This pacification was ratified on June 16th, but not proclaimed by Portugal till the 29th of July. It was deemed prudent that the Treaty of Badajos should remain unpublished till the Portuguese possessions in South America were secured from invasion, on the part of England, by a reinforcement of French troops. In the Portuguese proclamation not a word of France was mentioned.

The situation of Portugal, shut up between the prevailing power and influence of the French by land, and that of the English by sea, was extremely hard and perilous. Mr. Frere, the English envoy at Lisbon, sent a strong note to the Portuguese minister, remonstrating against the conclusion of peace till his court should have been consulted.

At this haughty conduct the Portuguese cabinet was greatly incensed: as Portugal had, in fact, to complain of the conduct of Great Britain. Immediately after Mr. Frere had presented this note he wrote another to Mr. Arbuthnot, the English consul, desiring him to intimate to the British merchants to hold themselves in readiness to depart at a moment's notice: but the English were invited to remain, with assurances of protection, by the Prince Regent of Portugal.

By a convention entered into between France and Spain, at Madrid, peace was not to be concluded by those parties on the one hand, and Portugal on the other, unless, among the stipulated conditions, certain places in Portugal should be given up, to be occupied by French troops until the establishment of a general peace in Europe. When, therefore, Bonaparte was invited to



accede to the preliminaries of the peace of Badajos, he refused his concurrence. He represented that it was contrary to the convention of Madrid, and to the general policy and interest of the allies ; and that the immediate consequence of this treaty to his Catholic Majesty, if he should ratify it separately, would be the loss of Trinidad ; which must be ceded, as a condition of peace with the British nation.

The Court of Lisbon having, however, ratified the Treaty of Badajos separately, when the French Government proceeded in its determination to invade Portugal. A French army, thirty thousand strong, under General Leclerc, provided with a numerous train of artillery, having traversed the Pyrenees, entered that kingdom, from Salamanca, on the 28th of June ; invested the town and fortress of Almeida, and from that position menaced both Oporto and Lisbon.

In order to counteract the conquests of France, a squadron, with troops, was sent out by the British Government, in order to take under our protection and possession the island of Madeira. It arrived on the 23d of July at the place of destination : early on the 24th a negotiation was commenced, and, before it was dark, half the force was landed and encamped : on the 25th the remainder gained the shore ; and Colonel Clinton, who commanded the expedition, having made proper representations, and satisfied the Governor respecting the friendly intentions of the English towards the Portuguese, was put in possession of the two forts commanding the bay of Funchal, which is the capital of the island.

Edicts were again issued by the Portuguese Government for military conscriptions ; the army, however, did not amount to more than 25,000 men, notwithstanding all the requisitions and bounties. Among those were three regiments of French emigrants, and some corps of English cavalry, the Commander-in-chief being the Duke of Alfoens, who, in the beginning of July, quitted Abrantes,

and left a strong corps there, under the command of General Forbes. He then proceeded, with the main army, to occupy such positions as might enable him to check the further eruptions of the French; but, in the meantime, while the weak and ill provided Portuguese army was thus employed, a negotiation was set on foot for peace, which was finally concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September.

The active mind of Bonaparte, while carrying on this incidental war, was not neglectful of the grand focus of his operations. England continued to be the centre of action, and the menaces of invasion were carried on under a new aspect, that of flat-bottomed boats. This idea was first suggested in 1744, by the famous Lally; but was quickly abandoned by the French ministry, as impracticable.

It was resolved, however, not to wait quietly an attack, but to show our enemies that we were able to defend our own shores, and carry war even to theirs. At the very moment, therefore, when the project of invading this country appeared to be ripe for execution, it was determined Lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun-boats, and some ships of the line, should carry hostile terrors to the portals of France.

While the armament under this gallant hero was preparing, a stop was put to all intercourse between England and the opposite coasts. Orders were sent by government, not to suffer any persons whatever to land from France, Flanders, or Holland. The French, therefore, instead of making attacks on England, were wholly employed in preparations for defence against the dreaded English armament. At Boulogne, Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, Cherbourg, and other places, where the English might direct their attacks, land forces were collected from the neighbouring quarters, batteries were constructed, and furnaces erected for heating red-hot shot; all which were supplied with fires, ready for service.

On the 30th of July, Lord Nelson hoisted his flag on board the *Leyden* of 68 guns, at Deal, and took the command of the armament, destined for an unknown expedition.

On the first of August the squadron stood over to the French coast, Boulogne-sur-Mer, being the place on which it was resolved to make the attack. This was the principal spot of rendezvous on the opposite coast, where the enemies had been assembling their numerous small craft, for the invasion of this country. In the evening of August 3d, Nelson stood close into Boulogne, with some of the bomb vessels, and threw several bombs, to try their effect, when finding that they reached the shore, he made signal of recall, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. His lordship's own flag was placed in front of the harbour, with two lines, one of bombs, and another of small ships of war, stretching from his right; behind which was the *Leyden* man of war. Lord Nelson, in order to induce the enemy to disclose his strongest points, (for it was difficult to discover the batteries, the cliffs being of a brown clay,) sent his ships of war very close in shore, where they fired broadsides. The French batteries on the harbour could only fire straight out, while our bomb-vessels were stationed so much to the left that their cannon could not bear upon them. The French, therefore, discovering the inutility of their batteries, employed a number of men to throw up works on the hill, in the eastern turn of the bay, which flanks the whole line of the coast. Still they could not reach our bomb-vessels which were to the westward, and only a few shells, therefore, were thrown from them. The object which the British Admiral had in view in the disposition of his vessels was, to have forced all the French ships to retreat towards the mouth of the harbour, that, being in a cluster, their destruction might have been effected during the night.

The wind being favourable for the bomb-vessels to act,

signal was made for them to weigh and throw shells at the enemy's vessels, previous orders having been given to annoy the town as little as possible. Six of the French vessels were so much damaged as to be towed from the scene of action; five were got into the mole; four sunk; and one bulged. It was Lord Nelson's intention, in the dark, to have sent three bombs close upon the enemy, each towed by ten boats, which were also to have towed the boats away in case of accident: but the wind shifting, the plan was rendered impracticable.

This partial attack having been made, which, as Lord Nelson expressed himself in his despatches, served to convince the enemy that he could not come out of his harbours with impunity, the Admiral returned, with part of his fleet, on the 6th of August, to Margate-roads. On the 8th, he again sailed, directing his course to the eastward, as if he had intended an attack upon Flushing, or some other port on the Dutch coast, whereas the real point was no other than Boulogne.

Stimulated by his recent success, Nelson was inflamed by an ardent wish of bringing off the enemy's flotilla, which was moored in the front of Boulogne, to the number of five-and-twenty armed vessels.

This desperate and almost mad attempt was made on the night between the 15th and 16th of August. The force collected at the Downs for this second attack amounted to about seventy vessels, of different descriptions, on board of which were some thousands of men. On the evening of the 15th, about dusk, our vessels were ordered to form in four divisions, to storm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers. They were defended by long poles, headed by spikes of iron, projecting from their sides, with a very strong netting braced up to their lower yards, being moored head and stern across the harbour with iron chains, in the strongest manner, containing each about two hundred soldiers, and protected by land batteries, as well as musquetry from the shore! Since

the first bombardment the enemy had erected batteries on every favourable point, and the army, collected on the heights, occupied a line of nearly three miles in length. But the circumstance of the vessels being made fast to one another, and to the ground, by means of strong iron chains, was then unknown to the English. Such, however, being the case, it was, to that circumstance alone the French owed the preservation of their flotilla.

Our men were provided with boarding pikes, tomahawks, and cutlasses only. Fire-arms were forbidden, lest they should have been induced to fire, and thus alarm the enemy before they could be well up with their boats.

The boats were no sooner alongside the enemy's ships than they attempted to board; but the strong netting, already noticed, baffled all their endeavours, and an instantaneous discharge of guns, from about two hundred soldiers on their gun-wales, laid two-thirds of our crews on their backs, all either killed or desperately wounded.

The next division that came up with the enemy, wishing to reduce the largest French vessel first, lost no time in making the attack, but each boat received so many shots through their bottoms, that the crews soon found themselves in a sinking condition; and, as it was not possible to stop so many shot-holes, they were obliged to join the rest of the division. Finding, from the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire of grape and small arms from the shore, that there was not any prospect of success, the admiral thought fit to withdraw the boats, between two or three in the morning.

Only one French lugger was brought off, with a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers, being all that remained out of about double that number, with which she had been manned.

This was a desperate attempt, and a useless exposure of human life. Even the French admiral did justice to

the daring intrepidity of our men, and acknowledged that they were merely compelled to retire in consequence of the impracticability of getting the ships off, owing to their being chained.

It is remarkable, that the French, on this occasion, used no exaggeration: the capture of a single English frigate; nay, the mere escape of a French one, had been hailed by the enemy with enthusiastic rapture, and blazoned forth with all the pomp of extravagant hyperbole. In their account, however, of this unsuccessful affair at Boulogne, they confined themselves not only to modest truth, but told that truth in a very modest manner.

Every thing concurred to render a peace acceptable. A long series of years spent in the most desolating warfare that history records; the continent metamorphosed; almost all its different states under the power of Bonaparte, and England and France, singly carrying on their hostile preparations, without any definite object in view, every thing seemed to cry aloud for peace. Yet this desirable end was pursued under all the attributes of war: it should seem as if ministers were anxious to "surprise and astonish," and carry the consent of the nation by a *coup de main*. Every thing, to appearance, wore the aspect of the most inveterate hostility: preparations continued to be made, on both sides of the Channel, for accomplishing and repelling invasion; and British fleets hung threatening over the alarmed coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland. M. Otto still remained in London, and flags of truce were daily passing, amidst vessels of war, between Calais and Dover. The negotiation was carried on with admirable secrecy on both sides; though there would, of course, be some general anticipation of such an event being likely to happen. At length, on Saturday, the 2d of October, was published in a London Gazette extraordinary, the following intelligence: "Preliminaries of peace between his Majesty and the French Republic were signed last night, at Lord Hawkesbury's

office, in Downing-street, by the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, on the part of his Majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the France."

These preliminaries were ratified by the French Government at Paris, on the 5th of October; and the document was exchanged between Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto, on the afternoon of the 12th of the same month. The instrument had been conveyed to London, on the morning of that day, by M. Lauriston, colonel of artillery in the French army, an aid-de-camp, and great favourite of Bonaparte. There was a degree of accidental propriety in transmitting the ratification by the hands of Colonel Lauriston, as his family, though naturalized in France, was of British extraction, and the recollection of that event was still remembered. He was great grandson of the famous Mississippi Law, a gentleman of ancient family, namely, that of the Lauristons in Scotland.

The rejoicings were general and enthusiastic throughout the nation, as was manifested in England upon that occasion. Illuminations, the firing of cannon, feasting, dramatic entertainments, poetical effusions, and other expressions of satisfaction and gladness, carried in many instances, almost to the height of frenzy, testified the joy of France, and in this country it was the same. Immediately on the arrival of Colonel Lauriston, he went to M. Otto's house, in Hereford-street. His arrival having been hourly expected, the news soon spread through the town, and attracted an immense concourse of people. After a stay of about an hour, the Colonel, M. Otto, and two other French gentlemen, entered their carriage, for the purpose of repairing to exchange ratifications with Lord Hawkesbury, in Downing-street. The populace, however, aware of their intention, immediately took the horses from the vehicle and drew it along with loud acclamations. On their return, the mob, whose numbers, were considerably augmented, insisted on paying the

same compliment to their French visitors, by drawing them back, which took place amidst loud shoutings and huzzas. A party of the guards also attended the escort, to prevent riot and disorder, and as a farther compliment to the welcome strangers.

Peace was proclaimed in every part of the world; an intercourse was immediately opened between the ports of France and England, and packets regularly interchanged. The recruiting service in both countries was discontinued, and bodies of troops were disbanded. Addresses on the peace to our Sovereign, in this country, and to the Chief Consul, in France, poured in from all quarters. The work of pacification was very justly ascribed to Bonaparte, who was called *The Hero Pacificator of Europe!* To the address from the Legislative Body he replied, "that the peace was owing to the stability to be expected from the organization of social order and government."

This was indeed the year of treaties; since those between France and Austria, Spain and Portugal, and France and Portugal were alike ratified. The moment intelligence was received at Paris that preliminaries of peace were signed by the British Government, Bonaparte executed a treaty with the Ottoman Porte, by which France was admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured nations.

Peace was also concluded between the French Republic and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, in which that prince renounced, in favour of the French Republic, all claim to the countries and dominions he had previously possessed on the left bank of the Rhine, while the French Republic, on the other hand, guaranteed to the Elector the integrity of all his possessions on the right bank of that river.

Though the deceased Emperor Paul had become as zealous a friend to the French Republic as he was an infuriated enemy to Great Britain, yet his prior engagements with the English Government had not been retracted



by any formal pacification with France. It was, therefore, not till the 17th of October that a treaty of peace was signed between France and Russia ; whereby the French nation acquired very considerable commercial advantages.

There was yet another treaty, more extraordinary, perhaps, than either of the former, and certainly not less important : we allude to the famous *Concordat*. The object of this convention was, to re-establish in France the public worship of the Catholic religion. There was to be a general resignation of the French bishops, both those who acknowledged the Revolution, and those who, sacrificing all worldly advantages to conscience, had quitted their dioceses and France, and voluntarily embraced the hard lot of the emigrants. The episcopal sees were to be filled with persons presented to them by the First Consul, and confirmed by the Pope, as had been done prior to the Revolution. The curates, or parish ministers, were to receive appointments from the bishops and prefects conjointly. The Catholic religion was to be recognised as that of the majority of the French ; its ministers to have salaries, and a sanction was to be given for the sale of ecclesiastical property. The form of the engagement to be taken by the clergy was : " I solemnly promise fidelity to the Government of the French Republic as established by the Constitution."

When objections were made to this measure by some of the members of the Council of State, who considered it as too great a deviation from the original principles of the Revolution, and that it might be followed by consequences dangerous to the existing government, Bonaparte, with a mixture of seriousness and irony, replied : " Do you take no account, then, of a clergy who will pray every day for the safety of the Republic ; and of bishops, who are obliged, by their oath, to reveal all plots against it ?"

Though the convention between the Pope and Bonaparte was signed so early as the 26th of July, and ratified

on the 10th of September, it was not carried into effect until April, 1802. It was deemed political wisdom to defer so popular a measure, as the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, for some time, since it would thus be looked up to as an object of hope, which is a much livelier emotion than that of gratitude.

The peace with England was regarded by the French Princes and emigrants as destructive of their final hope and stay. In the recognition of Bonaparte's power, they beheld not only the ruin of the royal cause, but the subversion of the balance of power, and even of all subordination.

Among the loyalists, and those the most enlightened, there were not a few who considered the concentration of power in France, in a single and vigorous hand, as a presage, auspicious to the restoration of monarchy. Some imagined that this had been the ultimate object of a plan, arranged between Bonaparte and the Abbé Sieyès: others, that though this was not the design, it would follow, as a matter of course. The way to it was prepared by the establishment of absolute power. It was impossible that ideas of restoring Charles II. of Great Britain, could have prevailed during a commonwealth. The restoration of the King was, necessarily, preceded by the reign of a Lord Protector. What Cromwell had been to England, it was thought, Bonaparte would prove to France.

Such were the fallacious hopes which entered the human mind. Mere circumstances had made Bonaparte another Cromwell; but then his death must follow before the parallel would hold good.

Napoleon, the pacificator of Europe, was enjoying the full height of splendour; he quaffed the enthusiastic admiration of his *subjects* with regal solemnity, and was, every day, uniformly employed in measures that might tend to consolidate his power. It was the general plan of his government to unite vigour with lenity; to raise

one arm bared for execution, and the other ready to dispense favours. This was a principle against which no objection could be urged: a due and equitable mixture of those two qualities form, or ought to form, the constituent parts of every free and just government.

The power of Bonaparte was exercised neither with wanton caprice, nor unemployed for the public advantage. In his preferments to office he was, generally, guided by a regard to merit and the opinion of the nation. He restored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He very seriously began to improve the civil law of France, founding it wholly upon a moral basis, the principles of human nature, and extending its influence, for the comfort and well being of individuals, to many domestic situations and cases, of which the law had not, formerly, taken cognizance. He formed a plan for the education of youth: he turned his attention to the re-establishment of a regular system of finance; of a navy, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. He munificently patronized, and was assiduous in his attention to the arts,\* liberal and mechanical; to the formation and

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\* Bonaparte was extremely liberal to literary people—a pension of four thousand francs per annum was assigned to all authors and *gens-de-lettres*, whose circumstances admitted of their acceptance of such a gratuity.—He gave Madame de Genlis, however, six thousand, and a suite of apartments at the *Arsenal*. “As I had never spoken to him,” said Madame de Genlis, when relating this circumstance, “nor had any intercourse with him, I was struck with his liberality, and asked him what he expected I should do to merit it? When the question was put to Napoleon, he replied, carelessly, ‘*Let Madame de Genlis write me a letter once a month.*’ As no subject was dictated, I chose literature, but I always abstained from politics.” Madame de Genlis added, that though she never had any interview with the emperor, yet, on her recommendation, he had pensioned five indigent persons of literary talent.

One of those individuals was a mere *littéraire de société*, and it was suggested to Bonaparte, that if he granted four thousand francs to a man, who was not an author, and therefore destitute of the usual claims on such stated bounty, there were two friends of that person, equally clever, literary, and distressed, who would expect, or at least ask, for a similar provision: “*Eh bien,*” said the Emperor, “*cela fait douze mille francs;*”—Very well, that makes twelve thousand francs; and

restoration of canals, bridges, and highways; and, in a word, to the general strength, resources, and prosperity of the Empire.

He laboured to the utmost, by his regulations, countenance, and example, in discouraging and checking whatsoever was loose in morals, or frivolous, enervating, and unmanly, in matters of amusement or taste. He honoured marriage and a domestic life, as well as constancy and sincerity in attachments and friendships. In what concerned the theatre, (a very leading consideration in France,) he discountenanced all loose and frivolous pieces, and encouraged, on the other hand, such as were of a moral, grave, and dignified cast: he manifested more fondness for tragedy than the major part of comedies.

he accordingly ordered the other two distressed *litterati* to be put on the annuity list with their friend.

It seems, indeed, that the possession of talent was no vain distinction under the imperial regime—and the friends and enemies of Napoleon alike agree, that no merit escaped his liberal countenance and princely munificence. He sought out intellectual merit with the greatest avidity, and loaded authors, artists, and men of science, with favours and honours, titles and emoluments. But his enemies say, "this was done to *degrade* them." In England, where "*all the talents*" has become a by-word for ridicule and contempt, it is true, no steps have been taken to *degrade* its men of genius, by making them *peers of the realm*, *senators*, and *persons of high official responsibility*. They are not even "*degraded*" by the slightest notice or favour; and are simply marked out and distinguished by—*neglect*!

The man, says Lady Morgan, who at the head of a vast empire, could plan great and lasting works, conquer nations, and yet talk astronomy with La Place, tragedy with Talma, music with Cherubini, painting with Gerrard, *virtu* with Denon, and literature and science with any one who would listen to him, was certainly "out of the roll of common men," even allowing, for a moment, that he had taken "the royal road to learning," and was, as his enemies insinuate, "but superficially acquainted with the various subjects which engrossed his restless and all-grasping capacity."

During the imperial reign of Napoleon, a poet, anxious to acquire favour, produced a poem, wherein he pretended to prove the descent of the Bonaparte family from the kings of the Ostrogoths. "*I feel much honoured*," said the Emperor, on hearing this circumstance detailed; "*but the poet should henceforward learn, that I date my lineage from the EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE !!!*"

In his own private deportment he exhibited to the French the example of a simple and laborious life. He was addicted to no pleasures that were impure or ignoble. He lived comfortably in his own family; loved his nearest relatives, and was beloved by them; neither was he forgetful nor inattentive to his friends. Nothing passed in the council of state that did not undergo upon his part the severest scrutiny. He heard the opinions of every one with patient attention; but he viewed all things, at the same time, with his own eyes, and followed his own judgement.

At this juncture was published, for the information of the citizens of the French Nation, what was termed, *A View of the Republic*, presented to the Legislative Body of Paris on the 23d of November, 1801, by the counsellor of state, Thibaudeau. This instrument which, owing to its length, we do not think expedient to present to our readers, gave a faithful picture of the then flourishing state of France, and the situation of all Europe.

The state of affairs as thus traced, (and that with fidelity,) rendered Bonaparte a being formed not only for the good of France, but of all mankind. He carefully encouraged virtue, science, and all useful arts: in his own deportment he was exemplary; and for what concerned France, in relation to foreign countries, he professed an emulation of great actions and useful enterprises, seeming determined to perpetuate a peace which should constitute the happiness of the French, equally with that of humanity.

During the interval of peace that succeeded, let us now contemplate Bonaparte and his conduct towards the city in which he presided. Anecdotes of a man who had changed the destiny of the world must be interesting, and will form a contrast to the turbulent scenes of bloodshed and war in which he has hitherto been contemplated.

That a military government in France had been pro-

jected and intended by Bonaparte, in the earliest stage of his career, may be presumed from the following anecdote.

Having expelled the Directory, which resided at the palace of the Luxembourg, he was asked where he would take up his residence, when, after a moment's pause, he replied, "at the palace of *Tuileries*; it is a good *military post*!"

Fouché was the protector of the Republicans, and, while defending their cause, the Chief Consul, one day, answered him, with some asperity, "the Republicans do not love me!" "True!" replied Fouché: "they say you are the high-priest of superstition; however, they remain quiet." "But how, let me ask, do the emigrants, the royalists, and the priests, whom you protect, act?" Fouché then, taking various papers from his pocket, which contained proofs of the evil intentions of the parties he had named, added, "look here, Sir, these papers will afford sufficient information."

Immediately, at least soon after this conversation, Fouché addressed a document to the Prefect of Brussels, and others, which appeared in the journals, and might be called a philippic against the priests: it accused them of turbulence, intolerance, and practices unworthy of the morality of the gospel; requiring that such conduct should be reprov'd, and, in future, prevented. This paper was no less offensive to one party than flattering to the hopes of the other. The ratification of the *Concordat* was then contemplating, and the Republicans would not suffer themselves to believe that the country was again to be taxed for the purposes of a state religion: Bonaparte entertained a different opinion; and it is asserted, that Fouché was reprimanded with marks of considerable dissatisfaction, and silence imposed upon him.

Canova never figured as the advocate of any political faction, for as his whole mind was devoted to the study of those arts in which he so pre-eminently excelled, he was thereby

precluded from taking an active part in the fate of empires, or the destiny of Kings. The impoverishing of Rome, however, of those statues, so lately her pride and her boast, and which had afforded him so many models from whence he perfected his own masterly labours, was a crime in Napoleon the artist could not obliterate from his mind; and, in consequence, he very frankly confessed his aversion to Bonaparte, at the period of his consulship, rejecting all offers that were tendered to him of establishing himself in Paris. Even while occupied in modelling the bust of Napoleon, he told him, "*that he was surprised to find himself in that place, and employed in performing such an office.*"\*

This was highly creditable to the First Consul; as it appeared there were talents, the dignity of which he respected.

Volney believed in the virtue of Bonaparte, was his friend, often admitted to his familiarity, and, being a sincere lover of freedom himself, continued its strenuous defender. Not sufficiently aware of the effects which the exercise of power might produce, that remonstrance was offensive, and difference of opinion an insult, he;

\* There is in this country, perhaps, the finest bronze existing of the late Emperor of France; it is from a colossal cast, by Canova, about one yard in height, and, previous to the entrance of the Bourbons, formed a conspicuous decoration of one of the grand apartments at the Tuileries. Upon the entrance of Louis it was of course discarded, as a most *obnoxious ornament*, when it fell into the possession of one of the oldest and most staunch French Patriots, by whom it has been entrusted to the care of Sir Richard Phillips, the actual depository of this choice morceau, who has permitted it to be inspected by the writer.

The recent demise of that great sculptor renders this specimen of peculiar interest, the *tout ensemble* presents a most masterly and characteristic delineation of the great original, and never were the efforts of the chisel more boldly displayed. The position shows the head a little bent forward, and the deep marking of mental attention was never more forcibly conveyed to inanimate bronze; indeed, it may be asserted with truth, that the hand of the great master is portrayed in every touch, and that he has conveyed a noble delineation of the Hero and the Sage.

one day, endeavoured to convince the Chief Consul of the mischief he would do to mankind by again conferring power on the priesthood, admitting the smallest of its once usurped claims, and burthening people, who were of a different creed, with a general and unjust tax.

Bonaparte replied, "Why do you mention the people? I do but act, in this business, according to their desire: a large majority of the community wishes for the re-establishment of the church."

Forgetful of the possibility, or, perhaps, not suspecting that the truth which instantly occurred to his mind, should thus deeply wound the pride of an individual whose supremacy was so recent, Volney answered, were you to act according to the will of the majority you would immediately cede your power: the mass of the people would vote for the return of the Bourbons."

The anger of the Consul was aroused, and Volney, in consequence, speedily after left his presence.

Some one, in the true spirit of French declamation, affirmed, speaking to Bonaparte, that England was far behind France in truly appreciating the principles of liberty: to which he replied, "it would be well for the latter if it enjoyed one tenth-part of English freedom."

Music being one day the subject of discussion, Napoleon affirmed, "it is so simple in its principles, that no man can be ignorant of it, who understands the mathematics: it is the most monotonous of studies, for it has no greater variations than may be found in different angles, obtuse and acute."

Concerning the religious opinions of Bonaparte, no man, it is said, could form any decisive judgement: from his different discourses, he might, at one moment, be imagined an infidel, at another, a deist, and the next, perhaps, a Christian! To Monge, an avowed infidel, who was expressing his disbelief of eternal punishments, Bonaparte said, (after reciting the names of various great men who had believed in the Christian religion, and ex-



amples of others, who, in their last moments, had changed their opinions from fear,) that he, Monge, would certainly die a true believer.

He appeared to be rather a Fatalist than a Necessarian; for he believed, or effected to believe, in his favourable destiny.

His stature was diminutive, his complexion sallow, and his physiognomy bore those marks that denoted the labours of his mind, which was care-worn: but at the same time susceptible of the greatest variety. From his melancholy cast of countenance, choler might certainly be predicted, but the sedateness of his eye did not denote that sudden and impetuous temper to which he was very subject. His voice in conversation was clear, sonorous, and pleasant.

On Easter Sunday, of the year 1802, the famous *Concordat* was ratified, upon which occasion Bonaparte entered the church of *Nôtre Dame*, and descended the aisle, surrounded by attendants, with his hat off: the sallowness of his complexion being overpowered by the strong emotions of deep thought, so that his face was completely divested of colour; a gentle inclination to smile rendered his mouth pleasant; his aspect was gracious, and his forehead large and open.

After the solemnization of the *Concordat*, he asked one of his Generals, what he thought of the ceremony, to which the blunt soldier sarcastically replied, "*C'étoit une vraie Capucinade.*" "That it was a complete Monkish mummery." Bonaparte did not seem to notice this sneer, and the same General, a few days after, was imprudent enough to volunteer another joke upon the same topic: when Napoleon fixed him, for some seconds, with one of those frowns of terror which he could so effectually assume, and, from that moment, the General fell into disgrace.

The military were the only men who could take the least liberty with Napoleon, during the early part of his

career. It is said that Moreau was invited to be present at *Nôtre Dame*, to assist at the consecration of the colours and to dine with Bonaparte; to which he answered: "Of your three invitations, General, I shall only accept one; I will dine with you; but I will neither go to *Nôtre Dame*, nor consecrate colours."

In the plot to assassinate Bonaparte, (which we shall shortly have occasion to mention,) there were persons who insinuated that Moreau had taken a part. Upon that occasion Bonaparte sent for the General, and told him, "It is said that you have joined assassins; I give no credit to such a tale; I know you to be incapable of a base action: but such is the effervescence of mind among the military, that you will greatly oblige me by spending two or three days at your country-house."

With this request Moreau willingly complied, but carefully returned on the third day, that no misconception, by any party, might be put on his conduct.

When General Richepanse returned to Paris he went to the levee of Bonaparte, and there presented himself; he was taken no notice of, a side glance from the Chief Constable excepted, who continued his conversation with another general: Richepanse made a second attempt, and met with the same reception. Highly offended, he then, in a louder tone, said: "Citizen General, when you are at leisure."—On which Bonaparte turned round, as if in reply to a troublesome person, and asked, "What do you want, Sir? who are you? what is your name?" Richepanse as instantly put his hand to his sword, and answered, "My name, Citizen Consul! is Richepanse; a name, which, if forgotten by you, has the honour of being known to all Europe." Bonaparte, on this recollected himself; and, with that affability he could so readily assume, made a gracious apology for absence of mind, treated Richepanse, afterwards, with marked distinction, and soon appointed him commander of Guadaloupe.

The peace, that was so ardently desired by both na-

tions, was looked upon as finally accomplished when the preliminaries were signed: nothing, it was thought, could occur to prevent its completion, and the ratifications were expected to take place within a few weeks. This last, indeed, was regarded as a form, and necessary act of diplomacy, rather than essentially connected with what had been already transacted.

On the 1st of November, Marquis Cornwallis, who had been appointed Ambassador to the French Republic upon this occasion, left London, attended by a train suitable to his own dignity, and that of the nation which he represented. The city of Amiens, being nearly equidistant between Paris and London, was fixed upon as the spot for holding the congress, which was finally to settle all matters in dispute between Great Britain on the one part, and France, in conjunction with her Allies, on the other. Lord Cornwallis had previously sent over to Calais his horses and equipage, which was far superior in splendor and appointments to any thing which had been seen in France since the Revolution. So anxious was his Lordship to execute this important mission, that although the weather was extremely tempestuous, he resolved to embark, on the morning of the 3d of November, for Calais. One of the vessels, which carried the baggage, was stranded, and lost near Boulogne; and the inhabitants of the town of Calais, watched, with the most anxious solicitude, the vessel in which his Lordship was embarked. Much was apprehended for its safety; but towards night the storm somewhat abated, and he landed, under a general salute of artillery from the several forts. Next morning he was visited by all the constituted authorities of that District, and, in the course of the day, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the evening of the 7th. On the 8th he was introduced to Talleyrand, and partook of a splendid dinner, at which were all the most distinguished personages in Paris. Next morning he was privately introduced to Bonaparte, who conversed with him for a

considerable time. This was the day fixed for the public rejoicings in Paris on account of the peace, and the presence of the British Minister added considerably to the general joy on that occasion. By a private order of the police, the carriage of Lord Cornwallis was the only one permitted, on that day, to pass through the crowded streets, a measure most cheerfully acceded to by the Parisian mob. In the evening Lord Cornwallis was invited to the palace of the Tuileries, to witness the illuminations and fire-works, and, after that day, his Lordship gave and received some grand dinners, at which Generals Moreau, Massena, Berthier, and several of the first characters in France were present. His Lordship never dined with the First Consul; and it appeared, from this circumstance, that, although Bonaparte was in the habit of asking distinguished characters of every country to his table, as a private individual, yet, to ambassadors he stood upon all the strictness of the etiquette of crowned heads, preserving the greatest degree of state and ceremony.

His Lordship's reception, however, at the French Court, was marked with more distinction than had ever before been paid in France to any ambassador. In addition to the guard of honour, appointed to wait at his hotel, orders were given to the soldiers at every *corps-de-garde*, that, when his carriage passed, they should turn out and carry arms. This, as a mark of distinction, was one of the highest compliments that could be shown him; and such as never before had been paid to any foreign minister in France. Notwithstanding this, however, his Lordship was soon tired of Paris, and, at the latter end of November, set out for Amiens, where he arrived on the 1st of December. Neither the Spanish or Dutch ministers were then arrived, and Joseph Bonaparte, the Consul's brother, who was the French minister, proceeded to that city for the sole purpose of complimenting Lord Cornwallis. No sooner had his Lordship arrived, than

the administrators of the theatre of Amiens waited upon him, to know at what hour he would wish the play to begin. His Lordship replied, that he very seldom went to plays, and requested they would fix the time most agreeable to the inhabitants of the city: they, however, observed his dinner hour, and during his stay in that city, the play began at seven o'clock, instead of six, which was, before his Lordship's arrival, the time it had always commenced. The negotiation, however, was for a considerable time suspended. The Dutch minister, Schimmelpenninck, did not arrive until the 7th, and the court of Spain seemed very slow in appointing its emissary; at length the choice fell upon the Chevalier d'Azarra, but he remained a considerable time at Genoa, assigning illness as the cause. Since nothing could be accomplished at Amiens until the arrival of the Spanish minister, Lord Cornwallis had, for a considerable time, no other employment than receiving and exchanging complimentary visits. Spain, in fact, being the only loser in point of territory, owing to the required cession of Trinidad by the Treaty, was not very anxious to expedite her minister to Amiens.

The French Government and the First Consul, in the mean time, were not inactive. Two grand projects then occupied the mind of Bonaparte. The first was, the recovery of the colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, which had formerly been of the greatest importance to France, but which the revolutionary army of the negroes, who had defended them throughout the war, now threatened to wrest from the parent state. The second project, still bolder, was to place the Cisalpine Republic, which the treaty of Luneville had declared independent, absolutely in the power and at the discretion of the First Consul. In pursuance of the first project, a considerable army and fleet had been for some time collecting at Brest, L'Orient, and Rochfort, consisting of twenty-three ships of

the line, five of them Spanish, with 25,000 land-troops, all of which sailed on the 14th of December.

The British Government was not without reason jealous of such a force, and somewhat anxious about its final destination; but, having received express assurance from France, that its only object was to take possession of the colonies, and place them under regular governments, England at length consented to their sailing, without waiting for the conclusion of the definitive treaty. Ministers, however, collected a force at Bantry Bay, under the command of Admiral Mitchell, which was destined as a fleet of observation, to watch the motions of the French in the West Indies. When the crews of those vessels understood that they were about to be sent thither, notwithstanding the war appeared at an end, a spirit of mutiny spread through the major part of the fleet, but particularly on board the ships *Temeraire* and *Formidable*. It was, however, soon subdued by the decided spirit and conduct of the officers; and fourteen of the ring-leaders, who had most of them borne an excellent character previous to the mutiny, were tried by a court martial, condemned, and executed.

The year 1802 was considered by many as commencing in a most auspicious manner. The termination of our struggle with France, the increased glory of our army and navy; our maritime regulations and laws gloriously established, though contended for by the Northern Confederacy; the quiet condition of Ireland, according to the statement of ministers; and lastly, the intended repeal of the income-tax, a hateful impost, which was borne with indignant feelings by the people: these were flattering circumstances, and, as such, hailed with joy by the British nation. Yet, towards the middle of January, surprise and impatience began to be expressed at the delay which took place in the signing of a definitive treaty.

The situation of Lord Cornwallis, at Amiens, was awkward in the extreme; and suspicions began to be enter-

tained, that he was, as well as the country he represented, egregiously trifled with. In the meantime, Bonaparte, who appeared to consider the Congress at Amiens, or the definitive treaty, as objects merely of secondary importance, prepared to set out for Lyons, for the ostensible purpose of conferring with a considerable number of the Cisalpine Deputies; but, rather, as it appeared in the event, for an object of infinitely greater importance to himself, that of being invested with the sovereignty of that country, under the title of President. Talleyrand preceded him, and arrived at Lyons on the 4th of January. He employed his time during the interval, between his arrival and that of the First Consul, in conciliating, and giving several magnificent entertainments to the Cisalpine Deputies.

Bonaparte left Paris, on the 9th, at one o'clock in the morning, and reached Lyons on the night of the 11th. As he approached the town, he was met and accompanied by a brilliant troop of one hundred and fifty volunteers, all natives of that city, young men of fortune, and selected for their imposing appearance. Thus escorted, he entered Lyons about ten o'clock in the evening, amidst the loudest acclamations, and the most rapturous expressions of universal joy.

On the grand staircase of the palace, appointed for Napoleon's residence, the following inscription met his eyes, which he is stated to have read with contempt, on account of the fulsome adulation it contained:

11th January, An. 10.

BONAPARTE !

Vanquisher and Pacificator !  
arrived in this City, and lodged in  
this Palace :

Five hundred Cisalpine Deputies attended  
Him,

to establish, under his Auspices,  
the Laws and Destinies of their Country.

On beholding him  
the Arts awoke in this City;  
Commerce resumed its ancient  
Splendour;  
and the grateful Lyonese, feeling  
for Him  
the same wish their Ancestors  
did for *Antoninus*,  
exclaimed,

*" May his happiness be equal to his glory !"*

During the early part of his residence at Lyons, Bonaparte employed his time in visiting the different manufactories and establishments, and in privately conferring with the principal Cisalpine Deputies. At the hall where the *Consulta* met, a splendid chair was prepared for him, adorned with military trophies; the room was decorated with various ornaments, emblematical of his victories, and inscribed with mottos, applicable to him and his fortunes.

The meetings of the *Consulta* were private, and they at length appointed a committee of thirty, to prepare a Report of the actual state of the Cisalpine nation, and the means necessary for its future prosperity and happiness. This committee, accordingly, presented a report, declaring it absolutely necessary that Bonaparte himself should undertake the sole and exclusive management of their affairs! The document was prolix, and concluded with pressing arguments, for the First Consul to assume the charge of governing the Cisalpine nation, which, by the treaty of Luneville, was declared independent! The report was inscribed in the *procès verbal* of the *Consulta*, and unanimously agreed to by the Cisalpine deputies. A special committee was then appointed to wait upon Bonaparte with the report, which invited him, not in his capacity of First Consul of France, but personally as General Bonaparte, to accept the government of a country as populous, fertile, and rich in



resources, as any of the states of a second rank in Europe. The Cisalpine deputies found no difficulty in persuading Bonaparte to accept that which was the undisguised object of his ambition, and the then avowed motive of his journey to Lyons.

On the 26th of January, Napoleon, accompanied by Talleyrand, and Chaptal, minister of the interior, four counsellors of state, seventy prefects of departments, and a vast train of general officers, took his seat at the Cisalpine *Consulta*, and pronounced, in his native language (Italian), an oration, interrupted at the end of each sentence by loud applause, which was then followed by the reading of the constitution. At the moment, however, when it was about to be pronounced, the general inclination of the assembly expressed a wish to change the name of the *Cisalpine*, for that of the *Italian Republic*, and the First Consul yielded to the desire of the assembly.

The First Consul then invited the vice-president to place himself at his side, when he took him by the hand and embraced him, the assembly appearing grateful for this spontaneous mark of affection. Citizen Prina then said, "If the hand that has created and defended us will guide us, no obstacle can stop our career, and our confidence will be equal to that admiration with which the hero, to whom we owe our happiness, inspires us."

The First Consul then broke up the sitting, and retired to his palace, amidst the loudest acclamations. The object of the visit to Lyons being thus obtained, he returned to Paris on the 30th, Azara, the Spanish minister, having arrived at Amiens on the 29th.

It was now to be hoped, that some attention would be paid by Bonaparte to the Congress at Amiens. But, while England was daily wondering and complaining at the delay that took place, a circumstance transpired, in the course of the month of January, which developed events that materially tended to change the basis

on which the preliminary articles of peace had been signed. A treaty was officially published, which had been concluded in March, 1801, at Madrid, whereby Spain ceded Louisiana to France; and by the arrangement of that treaty, the Duchy of Parma and the Island of Elba were also to belong to that nation at the decease of the reigning Duke of Parma; an event confidently expected in a very short time.

These enormous accessions of power, which France had made at the very commencement of peace, together with the unexpected delays that took place at the Congress of Amiens, caused the greatest uneasiness throughout the British empire, and excited universal indignation. The month of January thus saw added to the French Empire, either immediately or in reversion, the countries of Lombardy, Louisiana, Parma, and the Island of Elba!

The course which the affairs of the Cisalpine Republic had taken, and the great increase the empire of Bonaparte had received by the accession of such territories, operated directly upon one of the most important stipulations of the preliminary articles of peace.

The possession of the Island of Malta had appeared to both the contracting parties as an object of the first importance. The agreement between England and France was, that it should be neutral, and that neutrality was to be secured by every precaution possible. All the great powers of Europe were invited to guarantee this neutrality; and it was also stated, that the internal organization of the island, for its own defence, should be such as to secure it, as much as possible, from falling into the hands of either of the rival powers. It was upon this principle, that, although the island was to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, it was, nevertheless stipulated that there should be neither an English nor a French language subsisting at Malta: those of both nations were to be suppressed, and in their place, a Maltese dialect created, whose knights were to be

chosen from the principal inhabitants and merchants of the island. Neither French troops nor British were to be admitted into the garrisons of the different forts; but, as the period fixed for its evacuation was short, and it was not likely that a Maltese army could be so speedily formed, as might be powerful enough to secure the neutrality of the island, it was agreed that it should be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, until a force of its own was organised adequate to its defence.

At the time of the preliminary articles, this arrangement had appeared feasible for preserving the neutrality of the island; but subsequent events rendered that arrangement totally insecure: Bonaparte, as *President*, that is, *Master of the Italian Republic*, might extend his empire on the other side of the Alps, even as far as the Mediterranean itself; at least there was nothing in Italy that seemed to oppose such a plan. But this was not the only circumstance which occurred between the signing of the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, deeply affecting the minds and the opinions of the people of Great Britain.

No sooner had the preliminary articles been received at Paris, than other treaties of peace were announced with equal solemnity, by a grand discharge of artillery and an illumination. Among those was one with the Ottoman Porte, and another with Portugal. In our treaty, as an equivalent for the vast colonial restitutions which we made to France and her Allies, we had expressly stipulated for the integrity of the territory of those powers, and the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples; but, although the negotiation at London lasted a considerable time, and France expressly stated such cessions to our allies were equivalents for those we had agreed to make to her and her confederates; yet, when the preliminaries were signed, and she had calculated that the English ministry would rather submit to be so imposed upon than recede, she then produced the clandestine treaties which

had been making, at the same time, separately with our allies.

By those treaties the Porte had engaged that the French should be on an equality with the most favoured nation throughout the whole extent of the Turkish empire, and, consequently, that the best of her friends should not, even in a commercial point of view, be more favoured than those who, without provocation, invaded and plundered her dominions.

In the separate treaty with Portugal, that power was to cede to France all Portuguese Guiana, as far as the mouth of the river Amazons; a cession that would have opened for the French a way into the heart of South America. France had also announced, as before-mentioned, a secret treaty concluded a year before with Spain, by which she added to her own territories Louisiana, Parma, and the Island of Elba.

Bonaparte did not appear satisfied with his Italian honours; he openly assumed absolute power in France; which country, as well as Italy, he thenceforward seemed to consider as his patrimonial property. His return from Lyons was announced at Paris, by repeated discharges of artillery; and, from that moment, he affected a greater degree of state and ceremony, and kept his generals, who were formerly his intimate companions, at a respectful distance.

On the 6th of February, letters of a menacing nature were sent, by orders of the First Consul, to the Canton of Berne, in which the immediate interference of France was threatened, in consequence of the dissensions prevailing among the Swiss themselves; but, in the Valais, more immediate and unequivocal proceedings on the part of France transpired.

In February, General Thureau arrived in the Valais, set aside all the constituted authorities throughout that little state and its dependencies, possessed himself of the public treasury, the archives of the government, and the

post-office, and publicly announced it as the intention of France to incorporate that Republic with her dominions: Nor were the efforts of Bonaparte less active with regard to internal arrangements: chambers of commerce and agriculture were established throughout his empire! societies for the encouragement of arts and manufactures, universally convened; rewards for eminence in every branch of the fine arts lavishly held forth, whilst the riches of Italy, arranged with the utmost splendour in Paris, promised to secure to that capital, the resort and influx of strangers, who had once crowded to Rome, and the other Italian cities.

There were some who, with the inveterate blindness of hatred and rage, saw nothing good in Bonaparte, while others, with the wild enthusiasm of admiration, beheld in him a concentration of every excellence. We profess to be neither, for impartiality forbids us: yet even his enemies must allow, that he did more for France than half her monarchs had accomplished. His regulations at home were guided by the soundest policy; and he diffused throughout France an emulation and a spirit of enterprise which tended to produce lasting benefits. He had every claim upon her gratitude; and, in this point of view, merited to reign more than an hereditary monarch, who happened to be born to a throne, as a private individual is to an estate. If we refer back to the original compact between sovereign and people, we shall find that a Bonaparte would maintain his seat when many entailed crowns would be hurled from the heads they now cover.

On the 12th of March, news arrived at Brest, from St. Domingo, that the island was considered, upon the whole, as highly favourable to the parent country.

Hitherto the situation of Lord Cornwallis at Amiens had been, as before stated, extremely irksome and disagreeable: the definitive treaty had been lingering for more than three months, during which time Bonaparte had realised every project he sought to accomplish.

At length some faint remains of British spirit manifested themselves : the disarming system, which had proceeded to a considerable extent, was suspended ; we had already sent out a strong naval force to the West Indies, to watch the motions of the Brest squadron ; a fleet had also sailed from the Mediterranean, in consequence of the departure of Gantheaume with a reinforcement for St. Domingo : other measures were also adopted, indicative of warlike resolutions.

Whether this manifestation of displeasure on the part of Great Britain, and the consequences it threatened ; the resolute opposition experienced at St. Domingo ; or that Bonaparte had completed his wishes ; he then, without further hesitation, seemed anxious to expedite the negotiation at Amiens, and bring it to an immediate conclusion.

There remained, apparently, but two points to occupy the attention of the French Government ; the definitive treaty of peace with England and the German Indemnities. The latter arrangement was permitted to slumber, and the pressure now caused by the angry tone of Great Britain, disposed measures of an active nature to supersede the supineness that had previously prevailed at Amiens.

At length, as nothing more could be gained by procrastination, the long expected treaty was signed on the 27th of March.

The inhabitants of Amiens were apprised of the moment of the signature's taking place, and were invited to witness the solemnity. The welcome event was announced next day at Paris, by Talleyrand, and proclaimed with the firing of cannon, and every demonstration of joy usual on the receipt of the most flattering and welcome intelligence.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to the mission, arrived in London, at nine o'clock in the morning, with the news of the definitive treaty of peace

having been signed at Amiens at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th inst. by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, parties thereto. Thus, after a feverish interval of five months, during which period the most important revolutions had taken place in the states of Europe, while the scale of French power was daily preponderating, the great object of the British Ministers, and the general wish of the people of England, was accomplished.

A few days after the arrival of this news in London, an official letter from Lord St. Helen's, at Petesburgh, announced the agreement of the Courts of Sweden and Denmark to the Convention signed with Russia, respecting the rights of neutral powers; and that the Swedish ambassador had been distinctly informed by Count De Hotschoubey, the Russian minister, that, as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of a system of armed neutrality, were now happily done away, such measures were considered by the Court of Russia as absolutely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning, of a special engagement between Russia, and the other confederates.

By this declaration, joined to the effect of the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain was at peace and friendship with all the powers of Europe. The least sanguine minds confidently predicted a continuance of amity with France, and the repose of the continent. Happy presages! would they had been fulfilled!!

CHAP. XII.

*Peace proclaimed at London and Exchange of Ambassadors.—Celebration of the Concordat at Paris.—Nature of the Concordat, and its Regulations favourable to Religious Toleration.—A Triumphal Portico offered to be dedicated to the Consul, and his modest Remark.—Prospect of France for the re-capture of St. Domingo.—Institution of the Legion of Honour.—Resignation of the King of Sardinia.—Accession of Parma, Piedmont, &c. to France.—The Ligurian Republic organized.—Unsuccessful Attempts to establish a Commercial Intercourse between England and France.—Abuse of BONAPARTE in the English Newspapers.—NAPOLEON made Consul for Ten Years, and soon after for Life.—Affairs of Switzerland.—Letter to Citizen Reding, concerning the Swiss Government.—Constitution tendered to the Swissers by France, and Commotions in that Country.—Submission of the Helvetic Republic and Establishment of the Swiss Constitution.—Refusal of England to ratify the Peace of Amiens by the Retention of Malta.—Preparations for War renewed.—Admiral Linois sails from Brest; the French occupy Tarentum, in Italy, and General Mortier possesses himself of Hanover.—Interesting Conversation between NAPOLEON and Lord Whitworth.—Return of the British Ambassador to England.—The British in France made Prisoners of War.—Holland espouses the Cause of the French Republic.—Proclamation of Admiral Bruix to the Army destined to invade England.—Exposition of the State of the French Republic.*

PEACE was proclaimed in the cities of London and Westminster on the 29th of April, and the most lively sensations of joy were expressed by the million. Illuminations of a splendid nature took place, and M. Otto's



house was distinguished for its peculiar magnificence. A curious circumstance occurred with regard to this gentleman, which, as indicative of the national character, it may be worth while to mention. Attracted by the preparations at his house in Portman-square, the mob took notice that the word **CONCORD** was put in coloured lamps over the door; the reading of John Bull, however, was **CONQUERED**, who inferred, that England was *conquered* by France: disturbances and riot were, in consequence, about to commence; when M. Otto, after some fruitless attempts at explanation, prudently conceded, and substituted the word **AMITY**. But it did not end here; for some sailors found out that G. R. was not surmounted, as usual, by a crown; this they peremptorily insisted should be done, and a lamp, forming a diadem, was immediately procured.

The public now anxiously began to look for the arrival of the French ambassador, and the departure of Lord Whitworth, appointed to fill that important situation at the First Consul's court, on the part of England. Nor could it be satisfactorily accounted for why any delay should have arisen in this ordinary diplomatic arrangement. The nomination of the French ambassador had taken place about the same time as the English; viz. in April: the choice of the First Consul fell upon General Andreossy, who had served under Bonaparte in Egypt. Yet, notwithstanding these early appointments, General Andreossy did not arrive in England, nor Lord Whitworth sail for France, till the 10th of November following.

There was now nothing of importance to disturb the peace of Europe, and Bonaparte had leisure to pursue those schemes of ambition that dawned upon his mind. In order, therefore, to give a permanent duration to the power he had assumed, he felt it necessary to conciliate the affections and sooth the passions of the different parties. Hitherto the people of France had submitted to be a mere instrument of every party, as it happened to

predominate in the councils of that distracted country; but it was well known that the great majority of the population (particularly the peasantry) was much dissatisfied at the abolition of their ancient religion, and wished to see it again reinstated in its former splendour. Bonaparte was fully aware of this predominant inclination; and had, therefore, during the war, entered into a convention with the Pope, by which the new system of the Gallican church was completely settled. This instrument, or, as it was styled, *Concordat*, dated the 10th of September, 1801, was not made public till a fortnight after the signature of the Treaty of Amiens.

This celebrated political manœuvre was announced to the Parisians and the population of the French Republic, by a proclamation of the First Consul, dated April the 17th; and a solemn celebration of that event took place in the cathedral of *Nôtre Dame*, the metropolitan church of Paris, on the ensuing day, which was Sunday.

The magnificence of the *fête*, which established and proclaimed the Catholic religion in France, was far greater and more dazzling than had attended any solemnity since the Revolution. The procession of the government to the cathedral emulated every description of custom, luxury, and pomp. The constituted authorities were drawn up, in the cathedral, by eleven o'clock, at which hour the procession moved from the Tuileries. The First Consul was preceded by the *corps diplomatique*, the council of state, the general officers, and the ministers. His carriage was drawn by eight horses, each led by a servant in superb livery; and his corps of Mamelukes also attended, in the richest costumes. In the church, the family of Bonaparte was seated in the most conspicuous situation, above all the constituted authorities of the Republic. The ceremony was performed with great pomp. The anthems and appropriate music were by the first composers in France, and the execution was in no way inferior. Every splendour that consuls, cardinals,

bishops, archbishops, and the Pope's legate, could contribute to the re-establishment of the Catholic faith, was most profusely lavished at this solemnity. The magnificence of the spectacle, as well as the occasion, were highly pleasing to the French people : and this step added considerably to increase the popularity of Bonaparte. It must, however, be remarked, that the Republicans were much displeased, and several of the military obeyed with the utmost reluctance an order to salute the cross, which was carried before the procession.

The importance of the Concordat, so far as it concerned religious liberty in general, was, undoubtedly, beyond all precedent. No event of equal concern, or pregnant with such good effects as regarded Christianity, had ever before taken place since the papacy and princes, governed by its pernicious policy, had usurped the sacred and unalienable rights of conscience. This Concordat, in a word, released the Catholic clergy from all exclusive obedience and obligation to the Pope, and placed them where they ought to be, at the disposal of the prince and the people. Hitherto we had only seen the head of the French government acting in the capacity of a skilful warrior, and the most consummate general of his age ; now he shone forth in a character far more illustrious, the deliverer of the continent from the ecclesiastical yoke, which neither the then generation nor their fathers had been able to support. If, therefore, Napoleon was not acknowledged as the religious prince, we must admit that he figured the profound politician, the friend of peace, and the healer of animosities. The fifth article of the Concordat took all civil power out of the hands of the ecclesiastics, and placed it in that of the prince, and the laws of the country. The archbishops and bishops swore and promised, upon the holy gospels, obedience and fidelity to the government, &c. ; and that (no longer forming an interest separate from the state) they would have no understanding with, or take part in any suspected

association which might be prejudicial to public tranquillity, &c. To superficial observers, or those party writers who wished to make it appear that there was nothing to be apprehended from the papal prerogative, and the privileges of established churches, the Concordat might seem a mere political artifice. But what did they urge against it whose privileges it had abridged? Though it did not change or alter a single dogma or article in the faith, professed by the church of Rome, yet they contended (*viz.* the enemies of Bonaparte) that it had destroyed the Catholic religion! which sufficiently proved the weight and importance such priests attached to their ancient and exclusive privileges, whereby they had possessed power to disturb the peace of kingdoms, and harass or persecute the subject without the ability of the prince to interfere in his behalf! This accounts for the motives of those emigrants who refused to return or subscribe to the Concordat, merely because their revenues were abridged. In fact, to those British subjects who entertained a mean opinion of Bonaparte's Concordat, it was aptly observed, that they undervalued the dignity and prerogatives of their own sovereign: for, till this concession had been obtained from the Pope by Bonaparte, even the Elector of Hanover, in common with every other Protestant prince, was not acknowledged by the Pontif; wherefore, if any Catholic prince, more powerful than the King of Great Britain, could have deprived him of any, or all his dominions, there was, till the Concordat was thus agreed upon, no law to prevent it. In the Pontifical, or Court Calendar, as then printed at Rome, no mention was made of an Elector of Hanover, or of the Kingdom, or Duchy of Prussia. In the Roman genealogical table of the latter house, printed no longer ago than the 1763, the Great Frederick is thus described: Charles Frederick, (*Marchese*) Marquis, a title so trifling at Rome as to be ridiculous. Prince Henry of Prussia is therein described, not as the king's brother, but

brother to the Marquis ! Till Bonaparte arose, no prince ever possessed sufficient power or address to compel the Popes to renounce their assumed rights over kingdoms and states. Nor could even the meek and saintly Pius the VIth, when he travelled into Germany, in 1782, be prevailed upon to grant the King of Prussia a formal recognition of the crown. As Pius did not, however, at that time, wish to embroil himself with a German prince, he answered politely, promising that, on his return to Rome, he would assemble a congregation of cardinals, without whom he could come to no determination, or deliberate upon the subject. This congregation was never convened, nor had the Pope any intention of fulfilling his promise.

But there was something still more mischievous in the public proceedings and conduct of the Popes towards Protestants before the Concordat was agreed upon ; viz. His Holiness did not merely refuse to do all the good in his power for the Protestants, but positively did them manifest injury, by instilling principles of hatred and animosity into the minds of the people at large. Every year, during the service of Holy Thursday, the Pope *excommunicated and cursed all heretics*, particularly the Lutherans, in the following terms : “ We, therefore, according to the ancient and solemn form, excommunicate and anathematize on our own, and the part of the Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all persons following the heresy of the impious and abominable Martin Luther, with all the favourers and receivers of the books of the said Martin, &c.” In respect to the more famous bull, entitled *In Cæna Domini* ; written in 1610, by Paul V. and promulgated, in 1627, by Urban VIII. there is a complete collection of the anathemas issued centuries ago against those who might be refractory to the orders of the Vicar of Christ. It, therefore, excommunicates heretics, schismatics, pirates, and corsairs ; all who dare to appeal to a future council against the bulls and briefs

of the Pope ; princes who establish new taxes without the permission of the Papal power ; those who make treaties of alliance with Turks or heretics ; such as complain to the secular judges against the wrongs and injuries received from the court of Rome, &c. &c. all which insolent prohibitions were formerly read and promulgated once a year in France and other countries over which the Popes assumed an authority. It is true that, in 1763, some members of the Gallican church, which had often resisted, on former occasions, the Papal usurpation, put a stop to the annual reading of this bull in the French provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne ; but it is no less true that its promulgation was never effectually stopped until Holy Thursday, 1807, when its usual reading at Rome was, for the first time, dispensed with ! The Concordat certainly did not stipulate for any such measure ; and this proved that Bonaparte, with whom it must have originated, had resolved that the spirit of the Concordat should be respected even where the letter was silent. The object Napoleon had in view was to deprive the Papal clergy of all interference whatsoever with the civil power.

It has been uniformly admitted that the Consul's general plan was to unite vigour with lenity ; to amuse and gratify the French people as much as possible ; to qualify, or rather overawe, liberty, privileges, and pretensions, by a complicated chain of dependencies on himself, and by the command of an immense army : but, at the same time, it is but justice to observe, that his power was neither exercised with wanton caprice nor unemployed in promoting the public welfare. In those preferences he made merit was uniformly the first qualification considered. He restored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion.

The following must, certainly, be admitted as a fine trait in Napoleon's character. When the General Council of the Department of the Seine requested Bonaparte to

accept the project of a triumphal portico, to be raised upon the spot where the ancient Chatelet had stood, and which was to have cost the government 600,000 livres, he returned for answer: "I view with grateful acknowledgements those sentiments which actuate the magistrates of the City of Paris. The idea of dedicating monumental trophies to those men who have rendered themselves useful to the community is a praiseworthy action in nations. I accept the offer of the monument which you are anxious to dedicate to me; let the spot be designated; but leave the labour of constructing it to future generations, should they think fit to sanction the good opinion which you testify towards me."

Notwithstanding the Republican government of France had been branded with the odious names of despotism and tyranny, the forms of liberty were still admitted to exist in that country. It was thence customary for the Executive Government to lay before the Legislature, at stated periods, an *exposé*, or state of the nation, resembling the King of Great Britain's speeches on the opening of parliament. In the first of the former, after settling the preliminaries of peace, Bonaparte observed, "That the English people had embraced peace with enthusiasm. The hatred of rivalry is extinguished: the emulation of great actions and useful enterprises only remain." He then observed that "The government, from the first day of its institution, had proclaimed liberty of conscience. That such solemn act calmed the minds which had been terrified by imprudent rigours; and the cessation of religious dissension was then announced. A magistrate, charged with every thing that concerned public worship, had attended to the rights of every sect, and collected, in conference with the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers, the information necessary to prepare regulations which would secure to all the liberty which belonged to them."

The prospect of peace with England had induced the First Consul to turn his thoughts to the recovery of the

valuable colony of St. Domingo to France. The celebrated General Toussaint Louverture was one of the last chieftains who had risen into consequence in that devoted island, after a struggle between the blacks and whites, during nearly four years, from 1795 to 1798, in which the English, unfortunately, taking part with the French inhabitants, who wished to place themselves under the British yoke, suffered the most dreadful mortality, by sickness more than the sword, and were at length compelled to evacuate the island, at a period when, out of their whole number, not more than 1,100 were left alive.

It would extend our limits too far were we to expand upon the operations in the West Indies carried on by order of the Consular Government, and we shall therefore proceed to develop the events more intimately connected with the personal history of Napoleon to which England was so feelingly alive.

We have previously observed that the present year was that of treaties, which consolidated the power of the French government abroad, while the creation of a Legion of Honour,\* and Bonaparte's erection of himself to the Presidency of the Italian Republic, added to his security at home. During this year Charles Emmanuel, of Sardinia, weary of being a monarch with a mere nominal kingdom, voluntarily abdicated his throne in favour of his brother Victor Emmanuel, Duke of Aosta, then banished, as it were, to the little island of Sardinia:

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\* Napoleon, like Burke, had an eye to "the cheap defence of nations;" after beating down all the republican forms and usages, he infused heroic sentiments into the minds of his soldiers and the youth of France, by means of the milliner and the toy-shop—half a yard of scarlet ribbon, and a little badge of gold. These were sent, not to warriors alone, but to men of letters and men of science, and he himself holding a solemn court at the Tuileries, in the year 1804, from a golden vase first bestowed these insignia, in the form of crosses, on the commanders of the legion.

The Legion of Honour possessed a palace and considerable revenues. The sons were educated at the expense of the nation, and the daughters were bred up without cost to their parents.



Piedmont and the Duchy of Parma were then made integral departments of France. The once magnificent city of Genoa, and all its territory, under the name of the Ligurian Republic, became equally French provinces, in every thing but the name, though the government was vested in a Doge, whose functions were to continue six years, and a senate, comprised of thirty members, one-third of whom was to be changed every three years. Even in this little establishment a naval force was not overlooked, Genoa being bound to support two ships of 74 guns, two frigates, and four corvettes.

The First Consul had an equal right, with Mr. Pitt, to study the prosperity of his own country ; and there can be no doubt, as he saw the vast accession of territory and influence likely to accrue to France, it was on that account the unaccommodating temper of the Consular Government soon became manifest ; for, with respect to England's pressing the French for a commercial connexion, the cry on their part was "The Treaty of Amiens ! and nothing but the Treaty of Amiens !" About that time, also, a decree, prohibiting the importation of British manufactures on the left bank of the Rhine, placed the matter beyond all doubt. England put an hostile construction upon this and several other measures which the First Consul adopted to employ and excite the industry of his own subjects, and the London newspapers, on that account, became so coarse, personal, and scandalous in their abuse, that, on the 20th of August, 1802, the circulation of English newspapers was prohibited throughout France. In the meantime, Bonaparte, after being named to the Consulship for ten years, was shortly after appointed by the government to hold the dignity of *First Consul of the French Republic for life*. The next step was the senate enabling him to appoint his successor ; and it can scarcely be doubted that Napoleon, from that period, entertained the design of becoming Emperor, these steps being adopted as preliminary measures to the

accomplishment of that important end. When made permanent Consul, Bonaparte obscurely hinted at something like a divine right to such station; and observed that "He was called by HIM from whom all things emanate to restore upon earth justice, order, and equality!"\*

\* Whether Napoleon's aggrandizement was effected without opposition, the following anecdotes will fully demonstrate. When Bonaparte was proposed to be made First Consul for life, votes were taken on that point. The printed form ran thus: "Napoleon Bonaparte—shall be Consul for life?" This was transmitted to M. Otto, when he resided in London, as French commissary for the exchange of prisoners of war, to be signed by himself and the other official characters. M. Bouche, who was then secretary to M. Otto, alone signed his name against the proposition, and added the following as his reason: "There is no necessity for making Bonaparte First Consul for life, to insure his continuance as First Consul for ever. The question, moreover, is impolitic. By negativing it we immortalize—by deciding in the affirmative we destroy him. Liberty forbids—the repose of the world is against it—the glory and happiness of France, and even of Bonaparte himself, are averse to it. No! he must not be so. (Signed) BOUCHE. *Secretary of the French commission for the exchange of prisoners in England.*"

M. Otto turned pale on reading the vote, and letting the printed form fall on the table, observed to Bouche, that he was a lost man, and asked how he could give such a vote.—Bouche answered, "I think I have sufficiently explained why I have voted in this, as you think, extraordinary way; but if you desire a more decisive reason, it is that:—if we (France) concede thus much, Bonaparte will never ask any thing further; he will take all." To which M. Otto hastily replied, walking away,—“If I had thought as you do, I would have voted as you have done.” Bouche at that time foresaw that Napoleon would make himself Emperor, and quoted the words applied to Cæsar—*Dignus imperii (vel imperio) si non imperasset (vel imperavisset).*

The republican party in France, although long checked by the coercive measures of imperial authority, was, nevertheless, and still continues powerful in the extreme, regarding as equally obnoxious the Bonapartean as well as the Bourbon line. This class of men uniformly kept Napoleon upon the alert, for he never feared the emigrants or ancient nobles, concerning whom he was once known to express himself in the following terms:—

*“Ce ne sont pas les émigrés ni la vieille noblesse que je redoute, car je les chasserai avec un coup de baguette quand il me plaira; mais ce n'est pas de même avec les républicains qui restent fermes et n'abandonnent jamais leurs principes, qui seront long-temps chéris par la majorité de la nation.”*

“It is not the emigrants nor the ancient nobility who give me cause for apprehension, for I can chase them at pleasure with a switch; but it is otherwise with the republicans, who continue firm, and never

The daily extension of Bonaparte's power gave very serious uneasiness to the Emperor of Germany, as well

abandon their principles, which will long be cherished by the majority of the nation."

In a variety of instances Bonaparte was so far from showing a vindictive spirit, that he rather displayed a placable and forbearing one. *Raderer*, who once accused him of traitorous projects against the freedom of the country, was so far from finding himself on this account an object of his vengeance or persecution, that he was made a counsellor of state. *Camus*, who voted against the consulate for life being conferred upon him, was, notwithstanding, promoted to the rank of senator. And *Carnot*, who voted against him both upon that occasion and when he was elected emperor, had his choice of any post of honour or emolument which he chose to fill, though, for a time, he declined all. It is generally believed that, even before he was employed by the emperor, he was often consulted by him on military affairs, and that he never, on any occasion, refused his advice when he considered his country as having a claim to it.

In the beginning of the summer of 1802, some officers of rank, enthusiastic republicans, took considerable umbrage at several instances of Bonaparte's conduct; in consequence of which the whole of the discontented determined to go and remonstrate with him upon the points that had given them offence, and to speak their minds to him very freely. In the evening of the same day that this expostulation was to have taken place, one of the party gave the following account of the interview:—

"I do not know whence it arises, but there is a charm about that man which is indescribable and irresistible. I am no admirer of him; I dislike the power to which he has risen; yet I cannot help confessing that there is a something in him which seems to speak that he is born to command. We went into his apartment, determined to declare our minds to him very freely; to expostulate with him warmly, and not to depart till our subjects of complaint were removed. But in his manner of receiving us there was a certain *je ne sais quoi*, a degree of fascination which disarmed us in a moment; nor could we utter one word of what we had intended to say. He talked to us for a long time with an eloquence peculiarly his own, explaining with the utmost clearness and precision the necessity for steadily pursuing the line of conduct he had adopted; and, without contradicting us in direct terms, he controverted our opinions so ably that we had not a word to say in reply; so that we left him, having done nothing else but listen to him, instead of expostulating with him; and fully convinced, at least for the moment, that he was in the right, and that we were in the wrong."

A similar kind of fascination was experienced by the merchants at Rouen, when he made his progress through the north of France in the autumn of the same year. They had intended to remonstrate warmly against some regulations which had recently been made respecting the commerce of the mother country with her colonies; but when they talked with him upon the subject, he received them in a

as to the English ; so much so, that the Imperial Cabinet, though bound by the Treaty of Luneville to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, was, nevertheless, extremely averse to the prosecution of this ungrateful business. The court of Vienna even remonstrated against the recent proceedings of the First Consul, in annexing the duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the French Republic. It appeared, that, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the House of Austria claimed the succession to those sovereignties, in case of the failure of issue in the reigning branch. It was, however, no time to revive old claims, and the reluctance of the Emperor to enter upon the German indemnities, probably, urged Bonaparte to hasten them. The French treaty with Russia, it soon appeared, referred to the business that was to be opened at Ratisbon, and the Emperor of Russia was called in as one of its guarantees. This proved, in some respects, an unhappy precedent, because it was upon the ground of the Emperor of Russia's guarantee that he, afterwards, interfered, together with the King of Sweden, in order, as they urged, to preserve the Germanic constitution. In a matter where so many jarring interests were implicated, where states and principalities were to be again portioned out ; where the lesser powers were to be sacrificed as re-

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manner which won so much upon them, and gave them such satisfactory reasons for what he had done, that they left him, convinced that he understood their interests much better than they did themselves.

During his campaign in Italy, in 1797, the Directory, beginning to grow jealous of his rising fame and popularity, despatched General Clarke from Paris to the army upon some frivolous pretence, but in reality to inquire and to make a report upon the general's proceedings. General Clarke not only found nothing exceptionable in his conduct, but saw so much to admire and applaud, that he became enthusiastically attached to him, and ever afterwards devoted himself entirely to following his fortunes.—In like manner the emperor of Russia, from being his great antagonist, became, on being personally acquainted with him, his warm admirer.

munerations to the greater, it was not strange that the proceedings should be rather tardy. Nothing was effectually arranged till the 17th of July, when the Emperor of Germany transmitted an edict to the Diet of Ratisbon, stating, that he had not ceased to occupy his attention with the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but that he found the principal parties had in the mean time applied to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of those powers in order to obtain the indemnities they required: that Russia had, consequently, proposed to open negotiations at Paris, in February 1802; and that, soon after, a convention was concluded, *without his* (the Emperor of Austria's) *participation*, between France and Russia, wherein it was desired his Imperial Majesty would direct the definitive arrangements, according to the constitution. It was thus, by the superior policy and influence of Bonaparte, that the ancient and stupendous fabric of the Germanic empire was shaken, and, as it were, dismembered piecemeal. The Emperor, however, seeing all his authority on the point of being wrested from him, submitted, for the time, with the best grace possible; he, nevertheless, by his persevering objections, obtained terms rather more advantageous than might have been expected, for his royal relative, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The newly modified scheme of indemnities was called A Supplement to the Plan; according to which the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar; the Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made Electors; while the King of England accepted the cession of the Bishopric of Osnaburgh, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, provided Osnaburgh was ceded to him in perpetuity, having formerly only possessed a right of alternate nomination to that bishopric; added to this, his Britannic Majesty abandoned, on behalf of the cities of Hamburg and Bremen, the rights and property he had exercised in and over

them. But, to raise the interest of France in the German empire upon the ruins of the House of Austria, the First Consul and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia agreed, that it was at once possible and suitable to preserve in the empire an ecclesiastical elector. They proposed, in consequence, that the Arch-chancellor should be transferred to Ratisbon, with the Abbey of St. Emeran, Ober Munster, and Neider Munster; preserving his ancient possession of the great bailiwick of Aschaffenburg, on the right bank of the Main. This new officer, afterwards proved to be a person of great consequence in promoting the interest of the French empire.

In the meantime, a dispute between the Elector of Bavaria, and his neighbour, the Bishop of Passau, nearly proceeded to blows, upon which occasion the Emperor of Germany supported the latter, and took possession of the bishopric, to keep it out of the hands of the former.

On the 22d of August, the Emperor could no longer refrain from causing his commissary, Baron Hugel, to express his displeasure to the Diet. The Baron flattered the newly conquered Germans, by styling them *free, independent* nation; and mentioned the Emperor's surprise, that they should permit two foreign powers to prescribe rules for its internal concerns. On the 24th, the same complaints were renewed in an imperial rescript, which was answered on the 28th by the French minister, Laforet, who simply enforced the declaration of the two mediating powers. The Emperor again expressed his dissatisfaction as to indemnities granted to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; but, on the 8th of September, the influence of France rose predominant in the diet; the plan of indemnities, after much debate, was accepted, and a *conclusum* voted accordingly. The court of Vienna, still thinking its interests neglected, had instructed Baron Hugel, to refuse ratifying that document. At length, in the thirtieth sitting of the deputation, on the 22d of November, a final *conclusum* was voted, and

ultimately, though with great reluctance, acceded to by the Emperor, with very few amendments; whereby, as it was observed, a total, and a violent alteration was effected in the map of Germany; the constitution of which suffered a much greater infraction than that accomplished by the treaty of Westphalia, and the thirty years' war, when the arrogance of the House of Austria had been humbled by the heroic Gustavus Adolphus, and Prince Maurice, of Saxony. Thus, by virtue of treaties, and force of arms, France, under the First Consul, had acquired an extent of territory of four thousand five hundred square miles, with an additional population of four millions three hundred and eighty-one thousand one hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants; comprehending Savoy, Nice, Avignon, the Austrian Netherlands, Geneva, and all the German possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; together with Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, and the island of Elba, comprising a population of nearly one million more. Added to this, France exercised an unlimited control over the whole of Italy, the United Provinces, and the Republic of Genoa; while Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, were looked upon much in the same light as her allies.

The conquest, or rather the annexation, of Switzerland to the French Republic was an event which subsequently called forth the most severe animadversions from the pen of every one then advocating war. According to those politicians Switzerland was an earthly paradise till the French appeared and converted the garden into a desert, and its happy inhabitants into mourners and slaves. The Swiss government, also, according to those writers, was as pure and perfect as the people were innocent; and in regard to Swiss liberty, it could be exceeded no where but in England!

It may be necessary to premise, that from the local and relative situation of Switzerland, it was impossible for her to have preserved her neutrality in such a contest

as that which had taken place between Austria and France. In fact, she had forfeited it to the former almost at the very commencement of the war, by suffering her territory to be violated by the Austrians, to the prejudice of the French, without even protesting against such a measure; when the Swiss government of one of the cantons broke a commandant, for only firing a salute in honour of General Bonaparte, on passing through the town as a mere individual, on his return from Italy: and by the countenance and support afforded to the French royalists, who had fixed themselves in Switzerland, the better to carry on their intrigues against the new French government.

Under all these considerations, it could not be supposed that a general, so consummate as Napoleon, would suffer Switzerland to become allied to his enemy at that or any future period. That juncture was, therefore, thought proper for introducing the new Constitution which had been prepared for the Swiss. In Bonaparte's exposé it was noticed, that Switzerland had repeatedly applied to him for protection, and even previous to his departure from Paris, the annexed letter was delivered from the French government to Citizen Reding, Chief Magistrate of Switzerland.\*

" Paris, January 6.

\* " CITIZEN REDING,

" Two years ago, your countrymen consulted the First Consul with regard to their affairs. He spoke to them as the First Magistrate of the Gauls would have done at the period when Helvetia formed a part of Gaul. The counsels which he then gave them might have conducted the nation to prosperity, and saved it two years of troubles. You appear animated by a desire for the welfare of your country; let your fellow-citizens second you, and Helvetia will at length be re-established among the powers of Europe. The events of war led the French armies into your territories. The desire of liberty armed your people, and especially those of the country, against privileges. Events of an opposite nature have succeeded: in the course of a few years you have undergone poignant misfortunes. A great result awaits you,—the equality and liberty of your fellow-citizens. At this day, whether a Swiss is born on the borders of the Leman or



The Constitution designed for the Swiss did not, by any means, please them; though its enemies allow that it was generally accepted in the greater cantons. But in the Valais, or Pays de Vaud, the symptoms of disaffection were first publicly manifested, though the presence of a French army soon quelled the malcontents. In the three cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Underwâlden, the opposition was most violent: they, with Appenzel, openly declaring themselves in a state of insurrection. A considerable part of the summer was passed in threats and recriminations between the French party in Switzerland, called the New Government, and the refractory cantons. The latter, called the Patriots, though in reality the partizans of the old aristocracy, notwithstanding the inferiority of their force, appointed commanders, formed magazines, and prepared to take the field. General Andermatt and the Commissary-general, Keller, were despatched against them: but, without waiting for the attack, on the 27th August, the insurgents advanced, and carried the post of Rany, occupied by a company of carabineers; the captain of which, and about 30 men

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the Aar, he is equally free. That is the only distinct article in your present political situation. The basis of the public law of Europe, at this moment, is to maintain, in each country, its existing order. If all the powers have adopted this principle, it is, because all have need of peace, and the return of diplomatic and commercial relations. The French people, therefore, ought, as far as in them lies, to maintain your country in its existing state. True, indeed, you are without organization, without government, without a national voice: why then will not your countrymen make one effort! Let them call forth the patriotic virtues of their fore-fathers: let them sacrifice the spirit of system and of faction to a love for the welfare and liberty of their country: you will then no longer fear to be swayed by the residue of a temporary faction; you will have a government, because it will be supported by public opinion, and founded on the will of the nation. All Europe will renew its relations with you. France will not stop to consider her personal interests; she will make all the sacrifices which may tend to secure your Constitution, and the liberty and equality of your fellow-citizens. She will continue to show every mark of parental kindness for you, who, after a lapse of so many ages, form a connection of two independent divisions of the same people."

were killed. On the 7th of September, a suspension of arms was agreed upon, only to be broken at three days' notice. In the meantime, the cantons of Glaris, the two districts of Baden, and a part of the Grisons, openly joined the confederacy—that of Zug manifested the same spirit; and the French General, Andermatt, was compelled to send several companies of troops of the line, to take possession of Zurich; the inhabitants of which city refused to admit them. The unexpected arrival of this force produced great agitation among the citizens; they collected very tumultuously; and, as the effervescence seemed rapidly to increase, the municipality, not choosing to take upon itself all the responsibility, thought proper to call forth to its assistance six persons of the greatest influence in the town. After due deliberation, it was resolved to guard against all surprise by refusing admission to the troops. The municipality of Zurich, therefore, wrote to the Helvetic commandant, that the citizens would guard their own walls, and wished to see no more foreign troops among them: that, notwithstanding, he would be permitted to enter, on condition that his soldiers should be lodged in barracks, guarded by the citizens. Immediately afterwards, citizens Veiss and Schintz left Zurich to have an explanation with the central government, which took place on the 7th of September. General Andermatt, informed of these movements, left Lucerne on the 12th, with all the troops and artillery in the place. He arrived at night, before Zurich; and, at half-past two in the morning, caused the town to be summoned, by sound of trumpet, to open its gates. The commandant of Zurich replied, that he would send his request to the municipality, and wait its orders; upon which General Andermatt began to bombard the town with shells. At nine o'clock, he offered to suspend hostilities, provided a part of the town was put into his hands, until he could receive ulterior orders from his government, and an armistice was

agreed upon till the 18th, at six o'clock in the evening; but the citizens, enraged at the assault, and encouraged by the bad success of the morning's attack, as none had been killed or wounded, and the fire occasioned by the shells was soon extinguished, refused all other arrangement.

In the meantime, the cantons of Baden and Argovia rose in mass, and possessed themselves of Brugg and Lensbourg. Aloys Reding, who had taken part against the French, was declared chief: and though Zurich had been obliged to capitulate to General Andermatt, Fribourg re-constituted itself, while Berne was obliged to capitulate, in turn, to the Swiss party, on the 18th of September, after an obstinate action under its walls. The Switzers were commanded by Messrs. Watteville, D'Erlach, and Effinguer, and consisted of the peasantry of Argovia, Soleure, and Oberland—and the Swiss troops, on the French side, fired from the ramparts of Berne upon those peasants who had thrown some shot into the place, which, however, merely damaged the town house. At length, after a severe combat, the French party were obliged to capitulate, and a suspension of arms was agreed upon, including General Andermatt and his troops. M. de Watteville, the Swiss leader, was named Commander-in-Chief, and waited on the French Minister, Verninac, who, it is said, gave him a most obliging reception.

About this period, Arau surrendered to the forces under D'Erlach, as did Soleure, to a party of Argovians, without firing a gun; and Andermatt, who had been abruptly recalled from Zurich, before the capitulation of Berne, and left that city in possession of his heavy artillery, being, it is said, closely pursued by Aloys Reding, must have been taken or destroyed, had he not been included in the above capitulation.

The Swiss Insurgents, on the other hand, were no sooner established at Berne, than they began to assume

the reins of government. They issued a proclamation wherein they gave each of the cantons permission to choose and regulate their local governments, and recommended a liberal and rational plan for regulating and ensuring Helvetic independence.

However, while this new Swiss government was settling itself at Berne, the members of the old one, established by the partisans of France, were at Lausanne, to which place they had been driven by the Spanish, and other ministers, at peace with France. As neither of the parties were conquered, both seemed to act as if they meant to gain time; when a proclamation from Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, appeared, which operated like a thunder-clap upon the new Swiss government, as, thereby, an end was put to all the hopes it had indulged of any new modifications in its favour.

Notwithstanding this document, which decidedly stated that the views of the Consul were only directed to ensure the liberty of Switzerland, and extinguish the intestine dissensions that ravaged that country, on the 3d of October, hostilities were renewed between the Swiss and the French party, along the whole line, when the Swiss were successful at every point. The Helvetic government was preparing to fly from Lausanne to Geneva, when, on the 4th, Citizen Rapp, the Chief Consul's aide-de-camp, arrived with the proclamation above alluded to, which inspired the Helvetic government with courage to remain at Lausanne; and Citizen Rapp proceeded to lay his proclamation before the Swiss committee at Berne, when that body returned for answer, that it had referred every thing to the Swiss diet, sitting at Schwitz, which had the charge of all important state matters. On the 6th, the commander of the Swiss troops and another officer found it necessary to repair to Lausanne with a flag of truce, proposing an armistice between the Swiss and Helvetic troops, till the diet at Schwitz should come to

some resolution respecting Bonaparte's proclamation, and on the 8th, the diet returned its answer.

This was observed to be the expiring effort of Helvetic freedom: as, subsequently, all resistance to the arms of France was deemed unavailing, owing to the lenient proposals of the First Consul. The remaining troops of the Swiss insurgents were in consequence disbanded; and, on the 17th of October, the senate resumed its possession of Berne. In vain had the patriots, or, as they should have been termed, the old aristocrats of Switzerland, appealed to the powers of Europe; the court of Vienna dreaded Bonaparte so much that it refused to hold any correspondence with them. England, though at peace with France, sent Mr. Moore as agent to negotiate with the malcontents, but he arrived too late. On the 28th of October, the diet of the insurgents, held at Schwitz, thought proper to dissolve itself when the French government took care to have a force in and near Switzerland, sufficient to overawe any new movements; and finally the deputies from the cantons were ordered to proceed to Paris, to decide upon the points at issue.

Aloys Reding, and General Auf-der-Maur, together with the brother of the former, and several others of the Swiss patriots, were led prisoners to Zurich, and conveyed before General Serras, who ordered them to the castle of Challon, on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, till further orders. The senate of Berne, as might be expected, declared, that Bonaparte would give them a constitution which should ensure tranquillity, and that they would gratefully accept the same.

The decisive settlement of the new constitution of Switzerland was reserved till the deputies from the cantons should have arrived at Paris. In consequence of this determination, on the 10th of December, they assembled at the office of the minister for foreign affairs, and Barthélemy, one of the senators of the commission, with

Roux, and Roederer, its secretaries, there communicated a letter from the First Consul, dated St. Cloud, December 10, addressed to the deputies, from the eighteen cantons of Helvetia, the substance of which will be found in the subjoined note.\*

If we may judge by the time occupied before the new constitution was finally adjusted, it would appear that it did not pass without much consideration, if not objection, on the part of the deputies; since it was not till the 23d of the February following that the supplement of the *Moniteur* was nearly filled with what was termed, by

\* "The present critical situation of Helvetia demands from all parties an entire sacrifice of their factions and selfish passions. The First Consul will fulfil his engagements, and restore tranquillity to Switzerland. He expects the deputies to aid his intentions. Switzerland is a country distinguished from all others, by the peculiarity of its local circumstances. It is formed for a federative republic by the very hand of nature. Circumstances had there established sovereign states, among others that were dependent; other events have introduced a general equality of right. There are in Switzerland both pure democracies and oligarchies, or governments engrossed by particular families; both cannot continue to subsist together. The three principles, on which alone tranquillity can be re-established, are these: a general equality of rights among all the eighteen cantons; an entire renunciation of each aristocratic family rights and a federative conformation in respect to each particular canton. After the cantons shall have been constituted, the course of the central government will be easy. The revenue, the military force, the political administration, will vary in the different cantons. Switzerland has not, hitherto, had a standing army, nor ambassadors, in ordinary, to foreign powers. Commerce and a government of small expenditure are the two points of chief importance to the country. The French and Italian republics cannot agree to the institution of a government in Switzerland that might become, directly or indirectly, hostile to their interests. The insurgents have acted under the influence of the enemies of France; they have insulted the French nation by declaring themselves against an equality of rights. No party, and least of all that of the insurgents, shall triumph in Switzerland. It is the duty of the French government to take care that there shall not be formed, on that open frontier of the French republic, a system hostile to its interests. A government must be established in Helvetia such as in its spirit may be always friendly to France. The First Consul therefore will take into due consideration whatever plans shall be communicated to him from the deputies, whether individually or collectively."

the French government, *the act of mediation on the part of the First Consul of the French Republic between the factions which divide Switzerland.\**

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\* The late Dr. Jones, of Bristol, paid a visit to Paris, during the short and hollow peace of Amiens, in 1802, and he was highly gratified with his journey, having enjoyed the company of some eminent men of the first literary and political consequence. He described the astonishing alterations and improvements in that celebrated capital and its environs, during the few years which Bonaparte had been at the head of the government. Among the many interesting facts which he related, was that respecting the nine deputies from Switzerland who had been waiting in Paris six weeks, for an interview with the First Consul, respecting the arrangement of the political situation of the Swiss Cantons.

At last the long expected day arrived, when, being desired to attend, they were ushered into a neat spacious room, without any ornaments or furniture, only a long table, covered with green baize, on which were paper, pens, and ink.

Punctual to the hour appointed, the First Consul then entered, followed by two of his ministers, who, after the necessary salutation, sat down at the head of the table, his ministers one on each side of him; after which the deputies took their seats. He then spread out before him a large plan, or chart, which he had brought in his hand, as necessary to the subject of their deliberations. He requested that, when they heard it read, they would state *freely* what objections occurred to them as to any part of it, and point out in what particular it might be improved, which, from their local knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, they were so capable of doing.

They availed themselves of the liberty given, and suggested several alterations which they deemed advantageous both to France and Switzerland. But from the prompt, clear, and unanswerable reasons which Napoleon gave in reply to all their objections, he completely convinced them, to their entire satisfaction; so that, after *ten hours* animated discussion, they candidly acknowledged that he was better acquainted with the local circumstances and probable consequences to the cantons than they were themselves. *His ministers did not speak one word during the whole discussion.*

Dr. Jones lodged in the same hotel with several of the Swiss deputies: they dined and drank their wine together, and had many pleasant and learned discussions on philosophical, literary, and political subjects; and, on the whole, he frankly owned that he found them to be men of good education and superior intelligence. It may very reasonably be supposed that the States of Switzerland would choose men of that character to send on so important a mission, and to meet that peerless statesman, Napoleon Bonaparte.

After their business was finally settled, the deputies declared it was their most decided opinion, that "*Bonaparte was the greatest and most extraordinary man they had ever read of, or been ac-*

The introduction was in every respect plausible, and, in most of the particulars specified, strictly true. The interference of France was particularly imputed to the solicitation of the *Democratic Cantons*; and, it is added, that the general wish of the Helvetic people rendered it necessary for Bonaparte to interpose his mediation between the parties that divided that country.

It is worthy remark that the aristocratic cantons only manifested a dislike to the new constitution. However, their attempts to excite an insurrection among the Helvetic troops at Berne, being feeble and unsupported, ended in their own discomfiture. Even some English journalists, prostituted to the war-faction at that period, owned "that nothing but the presence of the French troops could prevent the aristocratic cantons for breaking out into acts of direct hostility against the constituted authorities in Switzerland."

The final result of the introduction of the new order of things was, that the Helvetic troops passed into the service of France, when the Landamman issued a proclamation, informing them, that they were received into the armies of the First Consul, whose paternal care would teach them to forget all they had suffered. An address of thanks to Bonaparte was also voted by the diet, on the specific ground, "That he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to the wants or consistent with the wishes of the people;" which, as it met with no opposition, but from the influence of the oligarchy in the aristocratic cantons, was

*acquainted with in modern times during all their communications with the great men of Europe."*

M. Benjamin Constant and M. Sismondi, who both knew Napoleon well, have frequently said, that *the quickness of his conception, the depth of his remarks, the facility and propriety of his eloquence; but, above all, the candour of his replies and his patient silence* were more remarkable and attractive than they had ever met with in any other individual.



then acknowledged as a most essential benefit to Switzerland in particular, and to Europe at large.

The negotiations and a refusal on the part of England to give up Malta had now continued nearly a twelve-month; when, in February, 1803, the First Consul declared to Lord Whitworth, that he would rather see the English in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine, at Paris, than they should remain in that of Malta; and that its detention would be considered as a recommencement of hostilities. In reply to this demand, England assured the French government, that the difficulties respecting the guarantee had rendered some fresh arrangements necessary relative to that island; a communication for which purpose had been prepared, and should have been made, had it not been for the publication of a report by Colonel Sebastiani, in which he informed the First Consul that six thousand French were sufficient to take possession of Egypt, which affirmation imposed the necessity of demanding some satisfactory explanation on that head, &c. It would be unnecessary to go into all the detail of the negotiations respecting that island, and the proposal of the English to keep it only during ten years—the taking of the island of Lampedosa in its room; and the *substantial security* demanded by England “for objects which might be materially endangered by the removal of the troops from thence.” Such were the conditions expressed by the English government at the latter end of February; however, his Britannic Majesty’s declaration, communicated to Parliament, on the 8th of March, dissolved every doubt on the subject, and at once put an end to all further discussions and delusions. The great length of the document in question prevents us from inserting it; and as the contents only refer to the litigated point of Malta, and are wholly unconnected with the life of Bonaparte, we conceive that a sufficient apology; added to which, this royal message is extant in all the parliamentary proceedings that were published.

The King's message was no sooner made known in France than acted upon; and both nations, it was observed, began to develop their respective means of attack and annoyance. The Island of Malta, the immediate cause of the war, was so strong, from its fortifications, and so well garrisoned, that France could not entertain the slightest hope of its conquest by force; consequently, the line of hostilities which each nation intended to pursue was foreseen from their relative positions. Great Britain, mistress of the seas, naturally directed her principal attack against the colonies and maritime possessions of France, while the latter, equally powerful by land, was able to obstruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain in Italy, Germany, and every country where her armies could penetrate.

The English government lost no time in sending a strong reinforcement of troops to the West Indies. The defensive force of the country was also called forth in the supplementary and regular militia, and by accepting the services of a considerable number of volunteer corps; indeed, the exertions of government then appeared as entirely confined to measures of *defence*, that even the enemy observed, "It was strange that Great Britain should court a war, merely to show that she could put herself into a strong posture of resistance." However, that it was not a mere defensive system which this country followed was soon evinced, by the reduction of the Islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, and preparations for attacking the other possessions of France, in different quarters. France, on the other hand, was not inactive; a few days after the date of the King's message, Admiral Linois sailed from Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, and a considerable land-force, to garrison the Cape and strengthen the French positions. In Europe, as might be expected, the Republican armies were immediately set in motion. That of Italy, strongly reinforced, pushed on to Tarentum, and threatened to

occupy all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples, bordering on the Adriatic. The French generals, charged with the execution of these orders, expressing in their proclamations, that it was necessary, while England retained Malta, that France should occupy those important positions.

On the side of Germany, the French were not less active: M. Talleyrand had already stated, in plain terms, to Lord Whitworth, that, in the event of hostilities, it was natural that a considerable army should be formed in Holland; and though his Majesty's positive declaration of war was not laid before Parliament till the 18th of May, on the 25th, General Mortier, from his headquarters at Coerverden, summoned the Hanoverian Electorate to surrender to his army. Yet, even from this step, it was evident that Bonaparte wished to leave an opening for peace; as General Mortier formally professed, that he sought to occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens; further asserting, that it was only for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace in question, that he had ordered his troops to occupy that portion of Germany in which the reigning family of England was particularly interested. The Duke of Cambridge was, in consequence, sent over to Hanover as Commander-in-Chief, and although proclamations were published in his name, and that of the Hanoverian government, calling upon the inhabitants to defend their country, they seemed rather to listen to General Mortier, who informed them, in his address, that "he had heard of proclamations, dictated by the blindest fury, for the purpose of drawing them into a contest to which they ought to be strangers; and exhorted them to abstain from an aggression equally absurd and useless, of which they alone would be the victims." To this advice the Hanoverian citizens wisely listened, and refused to oppose the French, or rise in a mass, as

the ministers of England had desired. The military, indeed, made some opposition, but it proved trifling, and, in the end, they were obliged to capitulate and enter into an engagement not to serve against France, or her allies, until regularly exchanged.

On the first news of the King of England's message, all eyes were turned to the Cabinet of the Tuileries. Its most trifling motions received a character of importance; its most unpremeditated words were eagerly caught up. Every one impatiently expected the assembly for the presentation of foreigners, which Madame Bonaparte held once a month. Every one was prepared to draw some inferences from thence. It was as splendid as usual. The First Consul made his appearance, and said, on his entrance, to the English Ambassador, who was standing beside M. Markoff, "We have been at war for twelve years. The King of England says, 'that France is making immense naval preparations.' He has been led into an error. In the French ports there are no preparations of any magnitude. The whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo and the colonies. With regard to the ports of Holland, to which his Majesty's message likewise alludes, there are only the preparations for the expedition under General Victor, and all Europe knows its destination is for Louisiana. The king says farther, that, between the cabinets of Paris and London, differences continue. I know of none. It is true, that England ought to have evacuated Malta, yet Malta is not evacuated; and, as his Britannic Majesty has bound himself by the most solemn treaty ever entered into, it is impossible to doubt the speedy evacuation of that island; and," added the First Consul, "those who would attempt to frighten the French people, should learn that it is possible to kill, but not to intimidate them."

During the course of the evening, when Bonaparte happened to be near M. Markoff, he remarked to him, 'That the British ministry wished to keep Malta for five years; that such a proposal was insulting, and no treaties

ought to be entered into, which it was not resolved should be observed.' At the conclusion of the assembly, when the English Ambassador was about to retire, the First Consul said to him, 'Madame the Duchess of Dorset has spent the unpleasant part of the year at Paris; it is my sincere wish that she may also pass the agreeable season here: but, if it should happen that we must go to war, the responsibility is exclusively with those who deny the validity of their own contracts, since they refuse to observe treaties which they have signed.'

It was through the medium of the *Moniteur*, that we first learned, for a certainty, that Alexandria had been evacuated by the English, on the 17th of March; and that Elmi Bey had embarked as ambassador extraordinary from the rebel beys in Egypt, to the Court of London. About the same time we also ascertained, from Paris, that the First Consul, driving a phaëton, with four horses in hand, was thrown from his seat in the park of St. Cloud; the shock was violent, but he alighted on the grass, and experienced no injury except a slight bruise in the hand. In the meantime the actual commencement of war created no particular anxiety among the Parisians, as their minds had been in a great measure prepared for that event, by a variety of circumstances, particularly the conversation between Lord Whitworth and the First Consul, of which it seems the most accurate account was given in the annexed interesting letter from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury.\*

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Paris, Feb. 21st, 1803.

\* "My Lord,

"My last despatch, wherein I gave your Lordship an account of my conference with M. Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the First Consul wished to converse with me, and desired I would repair to him at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. He received me, in his Cabinet, with tolerable cordiality; and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, desired I would be seated, as he himself did, on the other side of the table, and then began. He told me that he felt it necessary, after what had passed, between me and M. Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and decisive manner, make known his senti-

If the return of Lord Whitworth from Paris had naturally extinguished all hopes of peace between the two

ments, in order to their being communicated to his Majesty ; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself, than through any other medium whatsoever. He said, that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust ; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

" He then enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He principally dwelt upon our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by the treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce ; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints ; but this, he said, he did not so much regard, as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite that country against himself, and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had, within a few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, the Baron de Rolle, Georges, and Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world.

" He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because, every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions) which blew from England, brought with it nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

" He then recurred to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of that country by force, he might have done so a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to possess it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the dismemberment of the Turkish empire, or some arrangement with the Porte.*

" As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to

countries, another circumstance, which followed soon after, raised the spirit of hostility beyond all former bounds ;

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attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the pinnacle on which he stood, he should risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would perish in the ocean. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were a hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion ; while such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found ready to embark in the enterprise.

“ He next expatiated largely on the natural forces of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men ; for to that amount he said *it was to be immediately completed*, all ready for the most desperate enterprizes ; and England, with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to cope with in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, could govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that, if he had not felt the enmity of the British Government, on every occasion, since the treaty of Amiens, he would have left nothing undone to prove his desire for conciliation ; participation in indemnities, as well as regarded continental influence, treaties of commerce ; in short, any thing that might have afforded satisfaction, and testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British Government, and, therefore, it was now come to the point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled ; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers ; and the protection so openly afforded to his bitterest enemies, (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description,) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty. He then made the four of Europe, to prove to me that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce, for the purpose of making war against France, consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any latent point to answer, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said it was not doing him justice to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him, by any violent act of aggression, neither was he so powerful in France, as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land, than by plunder.

“ In the little I said to him, (for he gave me, in the course of two hours, but very few opportunities of saying a word,) I confined myself

this was produced by an order from the French Government to seize all the English in France, and was thus announced in the *Moniteur* :

strictly to the tenor of your Lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had before done to M. Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the effect which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained that what ought to convince us of his desire for peace was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by a renewal of war, and, on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt, with the very ships and troops which were then going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join them, for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

"I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the First Consul in detail: this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war, and, at the same time, to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

"With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which, he said, constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, I observed, that, after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history had no parallel, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail: but that, like the swell after a storm, it would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce who had been the aggressor in the paper-war that excited his complaints, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was a matter independent of government, while in France it constituted its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted that we had such motives of mistrust against France, as could not be alleged against us; and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the Treaty, when he interrupted me, by saying, I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce sont des bagatelles*:" and it must have been foreseen, whilst the negotiation was pending; "*Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure*." I then alleged, as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or redress, for any of his Majesty's subjects.—He asked me in what respect, I told him, that, since the signing of the Treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman, so situated, was paid within one month, after the period in question; and that since I had been in Paris, and I could say as much for my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained, to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property, de-



“The government of the Republic having heard read; by the Minister of Marine and Colonies, a despatch from

tained in the several ports of France, and elsewhere, without even the shadow of justice : such an order of things, I said, was not calculated to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, was attributable to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves in the right ; but he denied that delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and equitable. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones ; and still less for such as had been insinuated of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British Government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his Majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his Majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that, with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity : but that, if his Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies ; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, perhaps for inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertion.

“ At this period of the conversation, the Consul rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to General Andreossi to enter on the discussion of this business with your Lordship ; but he wished that I should, at the same time, be made acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his sincerity, rather from himself than from his ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greater part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent topics, in apparent good humour, and then retired.

“ Such was, as nearly as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

“ It must, however, be observed, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to *commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, owing to the infraction by us of the Treaty of Amiens.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ WHITWORTH.

“ P. S. The above conversation took place on Friday last, and this morning I saw M. Talleyrand. He had been with the First Consul, after I left him, and assured me that he felt very well satisfied with the frankness with which I had made my observations on what fell from him. I told him, that, without entering into any further detail, all I had said to the First Consul amounted to an assurance of what I trusted there could be no doubt, the readiness of

the maritime prefect at Brest, announcing that two English frigates had taken two French merchants' vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations :

I. It is prescribed to all commanders of squadrons or naval divisions of the Republic, captains of its ships, and other vessels of war, to chase those of the King of England, as well as those vessels belonging to his subjects, and to attack, capture, and conduct them into the ports of the Republic.

II. Commissions will be delivered, in course, to those French privateers for which they are demanded.

III. *All the English from the age 18 to 60, or holding any commission from his Britannic Majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be constituted prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the Republic who may have been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty, previous to any declaration of hostilities.*

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that Holland was soon obliged to follow the footsteps of France. In the sitting of the Dutch Legislative Body at the Hague, on the 21st of June, a message was sent from the government, announcing, that the Republic, as an ally of France, was obliged to take part in the war ; and that it only remained

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his Majesty's ministers to remove all subjects of discussion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and fulfilling strictly the engagements which they had contracted, inasmuch as they could be reconciled with the safety of the state.—As this applied to Malta and Egypt he gave me to understand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt or any part of the Turkish dominions. He could not then, he said, explain himself farther. Under these circumstances, no one can expect that we should relinquish that assurance which we have in hand till something equally satisfactory is proposed and adopted.

"WHITWORTH.

"The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c."

for them to put their trust in divine protection and the justice of their cause.

The message announced, "That it had satisfied the desires of the First Consul, and placed the Batavian army under the orders of the French commander." Soon after this, it appeared, that all the ship-carpenters and boat-builders throughout France, from 15 to the age of 60, had been called upon to work for government.

In preparations by land the French were by no means deficient: the Paris papers stated, that the Republic possessed a disposable force of 600,000 men! The remainder of the year 1803 was, in fact, remarkable for nothing more than the final evacuation of St. Domingo, by the French, and the loss of all their influence in the West Indies.

In the meanwhile preparations, very different from field-day exercises, were carrying on in the different French ports, particularly at Boulogne, from whence Admiral Bruix issued the following.

#### PROCLAMATION.

*E. BRUIX, Counsellor of State, and Admiral of the Flotilla destined to carry war to ENGLAND.*

*Head Quarters at Boulogne.*

"The First Consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you, to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised above himself? Who could doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen, the choice of Bonaparte, renders me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and bravery are pledges that we shall fulfil his expectations; already you hear the cry of vengeance—our towns and districts bring in their voluntary contributions in multitudes; all Frenchmen are ready to march

and punish a government that is inimical to the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are the first called to this great enterprise—to you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Rest assured you will fulfil your noble destination. Recollect that victory begins in your docks, and in your marine and military exercises. Those who insolently cruise along our shores, on viewing your labours, may return, and say to their government, ‘a fearful day is preparing; the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may, in a few hours, waft him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory.’ To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts, since that can alone add to the activity of your labours. Sailors, we are on the field of battle, to lose a moment would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal; multiply your services; and the nation which oppresses the seas will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

“BRUIX.”

The French Government, which in its chief, as well as its administrators, had retained the eyes of an Argus, ever since Bonaparte became First Consul, continuing watchful and jealous of the conduct of the English, communicated to the French nation the discoveries it had recently made, in an article, entitled, an “Exposition of the State of the Republic on the 16th of January, 1804.” Entire tranquillity (said that manifesto) prevailed in the interior of France, when, at the commencement of the last year, we entertained hopes of a permanent peace, and every thing else has continued tranquil, though a jealous power has rekindled the torch of war; but this event has produced among us a more complete union of

interests and opinions, and the public spirit has burst forth with redoubled energy.

The paper in question then expatiated on the improved state of French finances—the prosperous situation of its interior; and reverted to the wishes of the French people, and their government, for a permanent peace, on the ground that it was to its prosperity alone that the Republic must stand indebted for all its glory. With this view, it was stated, their arts were encouraged and their ships were dispersed over the seas; no armaments were in their ports, nothing of a threatening nature appeared on their frontiers: yet such was the moment which the British Government chose to alarm the nation—to cover the Channel with ships—to insult commerce by injurious inspections, and the coasts and ports, as well as those of its allies, by the presence of menacing forces.

That if, on the 17th Ventose (March 8) of the 11th year, there existed any extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Holland; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion might convey a sinister interpretation, then, said the manifesto, we are the aggressors: the message of the King of England and his hostile attitude have been rendered necessary by a legitimate precaution, and the English people had a right to believe we threatened their independence, their religion, and their constitution. But if the assertions of the message were false; if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British Government, then that government has deceived the nation, by wantonly involving it in war, whose terrible effects begin to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity. Malta, the cause of this contest, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm for its independence; it was France which waited, in silence, the justice of Eng-

land, and it was England that began the war even prior to a declaration. This exposition likewise descanted upon the tranquillity of the continent, its writers little thinking how soon it was again to be converted into fire and flame ! Peace, it was further stated, reigned in Italy ; and the Ottoman Porte, fatigued by intrigues, would gain, by the interest of France, the support of ancient treaties. It was then observed that this flattering prospect (of a continental peace) was fallacious, because the accusation which the same exposition contained against the English appeared to be true, viz. that the British Government had endeavoured " to land, on the French coast, those Royalist *monsters* whom it had encouraged during the peace, in order to effect a revolt ; but that such attempts would be futile, as the people were reconciled, by experience, to the wisdom and justice of the laws."

This prediction was literally realized, as will appear from the events to which we shall have cause to allude in the ensuing chapter.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Conspiracy of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, &c.—Mystery of Capt. Wright's Assassination, &c. explained—Animadversions respecting the Conduct of England, in the Moniteur—Seizure of the Duke d'Enghien—NAPOLEON's Order respecting Suicide—Participation of England in Plots against the Consular Government—Overtures from Louis the XVIII. to the Consul—BONAPARTE proclaimed Emperor—Address presented by the Senate—Nomination of French Marshals—Letters sent to the French Bishops—Cause of the Duke d'Enghien espoused by different Powers—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold—Arrival of the Pope at Paris—The Coronation—David's Picture of that Ceremony described—Retrospect of Public Affairs in France—NAPOLEON's Letter to the King of England—Lord Mulgrave's Answer—French Comments on that Correspondence—The French Government still anxious for Peace—BONAPARTE crowned King of Italy—Benefits conferred on Bologna by NAPOLEON—Genoese Territories attached to France—Anecdote of NAPOLEON, when in the Vicinity of Lyons—Description of the Grand Fete given to the Emperor, at Boulogne—BONAPARTE suddenly sets off for Paris, in consequence of the threatening Aspect of Affairs, as regarded Austria and Russia.*

WE terminated the foregoing chapter by saying, that the British Cabinet had identified itself with the royalist party, in opposition to the Consular Government of France, which disgraceful fact was fully developed by an announcement in the Paris papers, of the 12th February, stating: "A conspiracy of a very complicated nature has been discovered. It is said, that 150 men

were to assemble in the uniform of guards, to seize Bonaparte, at Malmaison, where he was hunting, or wherever else he might be found, and carry him off. The uniforms were discovered, in consequence of the information of one of the conspirators, who is in confinement in the Temple. The chief of the Chouans, Georges Cadoudal, only escaped by a quarter of an hour. The officers of the police then repaired to the mistress of an inn. Having ascertained that the sign of the conspirators was an English piece of gold, on drawing off her glove, they found therein a similar piece of English money. They then opened her drawers, and discovered a letter, directing her, on a day specified, to carry to a certain house in the *Rue de Burgoing au Marrais*, twenty bottles of wine, and to ring so many times at the door. The police officers took the bottles, and repaired to the house, where they rang, and found a number of persons, who defended themselves in a very desperate manner. Among those arrested, were Mairn, an intimate of Georges, the Vendean royalist: one Victor, who had been in a former plot, and the cook of Georges. General Moreau has been arrested, and the grand plot solemnly announced by the government to the legislative assembly." It was then stated, that General Moreau had held repeated conferences with Georges, Pichegru, La Jollais; and that the whole of the conspiracy was attributed to the English Government.

On the 17th of February, Regnier, the grand judge, made a report, in which he asserted, that a band of assassins, headed by Georges, and in the pay of England, was still dispersed in La Vendée, Morbihan, and the Cotes du Nord. It was also stated, that an accomplice had been recently seized at Calais, upon his second return from England, and that the papers found on him, identified the criminality of General Moreau. La Jollais was the courier who transmitted the sentiments of Moreau to General Pichegru, when the latter was in London; and,



that at a spot between Dieppe and Treport, the brigands of England were conveyed over in English ships, by Captain Wright,\* landed without being observed, when

\* *The mystery of Captain Wright's death and that of Pichegru cleared up.*

The following curious particulars were communicated to Dr. Warden, after an absence of six weeks from Longwood :—

“ On entering the room I observed the back of the sofa turned towards me; and, on advancing, I saw Napoleon lying at full length on it, and before him was a table covered with books; among them some volumes on the French revolution. The heat of the day had occasioned him to dismantle himself of coat and waistcoat. The moment his eye met mine, he started up and exclaimed in English, in a tone of good humoured vivacity, ‘ Ah, Warden, how do you do?’ I bowed in return; when he stretched out his hand, saying, ‘ I have got a fever.’ I applied my hand to his wrist, and observing both from the regularity of the pulsation, and the jocular expression of his countenance, that he was exercising a little of his pleasantry; I congratulated him on the preservation of his health, and complimented him, at the same time, on the progress he appeared to have made in the English language. ‘ I certainly enjoy,’ said he, ‘ a very good state of health, which I attribute to a rigorous observance of regimen. My appetite is such, that I feel as if I could eat at any time of the day; but I am regular at my meals, and always leave off eating with an appetite; besides, I never drink strong wines. With respect to the English language,’ he continued, ‘ I have been very diligent.—I now read your newspapers with ease, and I must own that they afford me no inconsiderable amusement.—They are occasionally inconsistent, and, sometimes, abusive. In one paper, I am called a liar, in another a tyrant, in the third a monster, and in one of them, which I really did not expect, I am described as a coward; but it turned out, after all, that the writer did not accuse me of avoiding danger in the field of battle, or flying from an enemy, or fearing to look at the menaces of fate and fortune; he did not charge me with wanting presence of mind in the hurry of battle, and in the suspense of conflicting armies.—No such thing; I wanted courage, it seems, because I did not coolly take a dose of poison, or throw myself into the sea, or blow out my brains—I have, at least, too much courage for that.—Your papers are influenced by party principles; what one praises the other will abuse, and so *vice versa*. They who live in the metropolis, where they are published, can judge of passing events and transactions for themselves; but persons living at a distance from the capital, and particularly foreigners, must be at a loss to determine upon the real state of things, and the characters of public men, from the perusal of your journals.’

“ My unreserved language appeared to meet Napoleon's approbation; and he asked me, to my great surprise, if I remembered the history of Captain Wright?—I answered, ‘ perfectly well; and it was

they found men to receive and conduct them, during the night, to fixed stations on the road to Paris.

After the judge's report had been read in the Tribunal, the brother of General Moreau made an energetic and

a prevailing opinion in England, that you ordered him to be murdered in the Temple.' With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied, '*For what object? Of all men he was the person whom I should have most desired to live—whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved, on the trial of the conspirators, in and about Paris. The heads of it he himself had landed on the French coast. Listen,*' continued Napoleon, '*and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies in the west of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris; and so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Réal, of the police, gave me this information, the name and place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted, and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation.—The brig was afterwards taken near L'Orient, with Captain Wright, its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes: General Julian, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognised Captain Wright on the first view of him.—Intelligence of this circumstance was instantly transmitted to Paris; and instructions were expeditiously returned to consign them to trial. The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death for crimes of minor consideration. My grand object was to procure the principals, and I considered the English Captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object.*'—Napoleon again and again most solemnly asserted, that Captain Wright died in the Temple by his own hand, as described in the *Moniteur*, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed.

"In the same conversation, Napoleon said, 'Your country also accuse me of the death of Pichegru.' I replied, 'It is most certainly and universally believed throughout the whole British empire, that he was strangled in prison by your orders.' He rapidly answered, '*What idle dissingenuous folly! a fine proof how prejudice can destroy the boasted reasoning faculties of Englishmen! Why, I ask you, should that life be taken away in secret, which the law consigned to the hands of the public executioner?*' The matter would have been different with respect to Moreau. Had he died in a dungeon, there might have been grounds to justify the suspicion that he had not been guilty of suicide. He was a very popular character, as well as much beloved by the army: and I should never have lost the odium, however guiltless I might have been, if the justice of his death, supposing his life to have been forfeited by the laws, had not been made apparent by the most public execution.'

indignant speech, declaring the whole an infamous calumny, and demanding that his brother might be instantly brought to trial.\* The Senate, however, impating the speech more to natural affection than sound judgement, transmitted an address of congratulation to Bonaparte, to which, in the conclusion of his reply, he expressed himself as follows :

“ I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life: all my days are occupied in fulfilling the duties which *my fate*, and the will of the French people, have imposed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm; my life will last as long as will be useful to the nation: but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would afford me no consolation, and would, as regards them, have no beneficial object.”

General Pichegru, then in Paris, was not arrested till the 28th of February; when six *gens-d'armes*, and an agent of the police, entered his apartment so unexpectedly, that he had no leisure to use his pistols, or the dagger which lay on the table: he, however, wrestled with his opponents for a considerable time, and, on finding he could not prevail, endeavoured, without effect, to interest their compassion. The government, in the mean while, having certain intelligence that a great number of the conspirators were in Paris, caused the barriers to be so strictly watched, that even Georges could not effect his escape.† On that occasion it may only be necessary

\* The culpability of Moreau was established beyond all doubt, as will appear from a perusal of the *Memoirs of Las Cases, Montholon, &c.* where the subject of this famous conspiracy is so frequently referred to, that the limits of our work will not permit us to insert the host of evidence to be found in those entertaining volumes.

† Napoleon informed Las Cases, that, eight days prior to the arrest of Georges, one of the most resolute of the band of assassins had delivered into his hand a petition as he attended the parade; others

to add, that both Georges and Moreau were found guilty. The first was executed, and died with great fortitude:

introduced themselves to St. Cloud and Malmaison, among his retinue: in short, Georges Cadoudal himself appears to have been, at one period, very near his person, and even in the same apartment with him.

Bonaparte, independent of his ruling star, attributed his safety to certain circumstances, peculiar to himself. One thing, he remarked, which, doubtless, tended to preserve him, was, his never having adopted a regular mode of living, or fixed habits in conducting himself. Incessant labour confined him very much to his study and the palace; he never dined out, seldom went to the theatre, and rarely appeared, except when and where he was least expected, &c.

The conspiracy, observed Napoleon, was developed by an officer of the line, who was himself one of the persons concerned in the plot. "Strange modification of the human mind," observed Bonaparte, "to what point will not the combinations of folly and stupidity tend! The officer, in question, abhorred me as Consul, though he had adored me in the character of a general. He was willing that I should be dispossessed of my consular dignity, and yet was averse to having my life forfeited: It had been his wish, that my person should be secured, but not injured, and that I should be expedited to the army, and continue to combat the enemy for the glory of France. The other conspirators turned him into ridicule, but when he saw the daggers distributed, and that it was determined to act beyond his intentions, he then presented himself in person before me, and developed the whole plan of the projected assassination."

The celebrated *Georges Cadoudal*, who headed the conspiracy to assassinate the Consul, being questioned during the trial respecting some points whereto he would not deign to reply, told the court to interrogate the *Polignacs*: "For they," exclaimed the fearless Georges, "wish to live, but death has no terrors for me." This extraordinary man was tried by Thuriot, who was one of those that signed the death warrant of Louis XVI.; upon which account this undaunted conspirator never addressed him but under the nickname of *Tue Roi*, (which signifies King-killer, and is also a pun on *Thuriot*.)

During one of these interrogatories, Thuriot demanded of him, "What he had done with a small miniature of the King of France, which he constantly wore attached round his neck?"—"And you," demanded Georges, sternly, "what have you done with its original?" Struck with this noble reply, the whole audience, which was very numerous, burst into reiterated shouts of applause, when the colour fled the cheeks of the judge, who, betraying evident signs of trouble and confusion, with a faltering voice ordered the accused to be reconducted to his prison, and for that day the interrogatory closed.

The evening before his execution, Cadoudal desired to have a bottle of excellent wine, upon which the gaoler brought one; when, having tasted its contents, and, finding it of inferior quality, he complained,

the latter was pardoned by Bonaparte, on condition of transporting himself to America; and that Pichegru expired in prison; or, as it was stated in the Paris papers, strangled himself by means of a black silk handkerchief, twisted round his neck and the help of a stick; he was, in consequence, buried in a place appropriated for the remains of those who commit suicide. A number of Chouans, or Royalists, were executed in the departments, being found without passports; a proof but too fatal of their design in returning to the French territory. This,

stating it was not the wine he desired; upon which he was answered, that the liquor would do for a miscreant like him. Without deigning a reply, Georges corked up the bottle with infinite *sang froid*, and then hurled it at the gaoler's head with such force, and an aim so well directed, that he fell lifeless at his feet. On the ensuing day he met his fate upon the scaffold with a tranquil composure, similar to that which he had adopted in punishing the brutal insolence of his keeper.

In all the different conspiracies which were formed against the life and government of Napoleon, his conduct towards the conspirators was marked by great moderation, and even magnanimity. As instances of this, we have only to select the following:

In the conspiracy of the *infernal machine*, one of the parties was found concealed in the house of a *ci-devant* lady abbess, to whose protection he had been recommended by Mademoiselle C——, a lady of good family, and sister to one who had been formerly an archbishop. This lady, on her examination, acknowledged that she had been influenced in her recommendation of the man to the lady abbess's protection by another person, but refused to reveal his name, as she would not, she said, criminate any one. She was, notwithstanding, discharged without any punishment, and the lady abbess was only sentenced to six months imprisonment.

In the conspiracy of Moreau, Pichegru, Georges, &c. when Moreau was arrested, warrants were also made out against his brother, the tribune, and Frenieres, his secretary. When this was reported to the first consul, he inquired whether the names of the two latter were included in the report of the minister of justice; and on being answered in the negative, he ordered that the warrants should immediately be cancelled. "If," said he, "the question at present were one of those measures in which the safety of the nation was involved, and a vigorous stroke were necessary, I would not hesitate what part to take;—the conspirator should be arrested, brought before a military commission, and executed on the spot: but this is not one of those urgent cases; it is to be considered only as a criminal prosecution according to the established forms, and I desire that all those forms may be strictly attended to."

however, in England, as well as the justice executed upon Georges, and the lenity shown to Moreau, were imputed to cruelty and fear ; and, in this, as in every thing else, in which Bonaparte was concerned, all motives, but the real ones, were brought forward to account for his actions.

This unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Bonaparte, after he had been acknowledged the lawful sovereign of France, was considered as too atrocious to be passed over, by the *Moniteur*, without repeated animadversions, and that of March 7, 1804, contained, among others, the following striking observations :

“ Last year, on this day, Europe was at peace ! to-morrow, a year will have revolved since the King of England, dishonouring a reign of forty-two years by the grossest falsehoods, called upon his nation to take up arms — ‘ Because,’ said he, in the face of Europe, ‘ the ports of France and Holland are filled with considerable armaments, which threaten the constitution, the independence, and the *religion* of the English people.’ That fallacious message renewed the war : the ministers of the King of England were preparing a new message to celebrate this anniversary : they relied upon being able to announce to Parliament, that they had basely caused the First Consul to be assassinated. But He, who disposes of the life of man, and of the destinies of empires, had otherwise ordained. The French Government is more consolidated ; a new energy has arisen to animate and unite the citizens, and to teach conspirators that the whole people collects itself and rallies round the Chief of the State. The First Consul,\* superior to all events, is

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\* In order to display Bonaparte's idea of self destruction at the period of his consulship, we cannot omit this opportunity of inserting the following order of the day, which will serve to indicate the principles he thought becoming in such arduous circumstances as those in which a man's fortitude is put to the test.

more enabled than ever to fulfil the decree of the Fates, and to avenge the rights of nations, so frequently violated : while the King of England——”

The next subject that occupied public attention was the seizure of one of the royal family of France; viz. the Duke d'Enghien, at Ettenheim, in the German territory of the Elector of Baden; where a number of emigrants, and other persons, said to have been in the pay of England, had been for some time assembled. Notice of these transactions having been forwarded to Paris, Bonaparte despatched M. de Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who, arriving on the German side of the Rhine, marched towards Offenburg, where he ordered the commandant to point out the emigrants in that town, fifteen of whom were immediately arrested, including the Duke d'Enghien. No resistance was made by the Elector of Baden, who immediately sent off a courier to his son-in-law, the Emperor of Russia. This took place on the 14th of March; and, in the night between the 21st and 22d, the Duke having arrived at Paris, under an escort of 50 *gens-d'armes*, was conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, where he was tried and condemned by a military commission, assembled for that purpose, and met death with

“ Extract from the Orderly Book of the Horse Grenadiers of the Consular Guard.

“ *Order of the 22d Floreal, year 10.*

“ The grenadier Grobbin has destroyed himself in consequence of a love affair. He was otherwise a respectable man. This is the second event of the kind which has happened in the corps within a month. The First Consul has directed that it shall be inserted in the order of the day of the guard, that a soldier ought to know how to subdue sorrow, and the agitation of the passions; that *there is as much courage in enduring with firmness the pains of the heart, as in remaining steady under the grape shot of a battery.* To abandon one's self to grief without resistance, to kill one's self in order to escape from it, is to fly from the field of battle before one is conquered.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE, First Consul.  
(A true copy) “ BESSIERES.”

manly resolution, after which he was buried in the moat of the castle, being then in his 32d year.\*

Shortly after this affair, the *Moniteur* contained a voluminous report, of the Grand Judge, on the conspiracy, consisting of a series of letters and papers, to prove that Mr. Drake, the British minister at Munich, in Bavaria, had been employed in the project of destroying the French Government, by causing the powder-mills in France to be blown up, and effecting a disorganization in the armies: the instructions and letters sent to and received from an agent, whom Mr. Drake sent to Paris, are given at full length. In one of which the agent is desired to print an address to the army, instigating the troops not to suffer Moreau to fall a victim to the jealousy of the Consul. These papers were immediately sent, by extraordinary couriers, to the foreign courts, as well as to their ambassadors at Paris, all of whom returned indifferent answers, the American minister excepted, who entered into a long detail of the horror with which civilized nations must view the attempts of atrocious agents, and felicitating Bonaparte on his happy escape from the plots of those assassins. Sweden being then upon the point of coming to a rupture with the French, her ambassador did not return any answer.

According to the *Moniteur*, the new principle of assassination, adopted by the English ministers, was not con-

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\* So much has been adduced respecting the death of this prince, that we deem it requisite to state in exculpation of Napoleon, that the reader, by referring to the Memoirs of Counts Montholon and Las Cases; the Voice from St. Helena, of M. O'Meara; and particularly the pamphlet published by Savary, Duke of Rovigo, with others that have appeared since the Emperor's death, will be enabled to pronounce respecting the *complete innocence* of the late Ruler of France, as connected with the topic in question. We should have been happy to annex the statements alluded to, but they are so numerous and contain such ample documents, that the limits prescribed in this work, would not admit us to enter more at large upon the subject.



fined to France or Germany; it had, also, been advocated at Madrid, where our ambassador, Mr. Frere, being in conversation with the Prince of Peace, is said to have remarked, "That, under the then circumstances of England, assassination and murder were justifiable, in order to rescue her from the extraordinary situation in which she was placed!"—To this the Prince of Peace replied: "But, Sir, if France adopted the same principle, nations, instead of fleets and armies, would attack each other by means of assassins." To this the *Moniteur* added the following note, which was the only notice taken of the execution of the Duke d'Enghien in any Paris paper.

- "The observation of the Prince of Peace has just been verified: and, at the moment when England was employing the Count d'Artois, as an assassin, one of the individuals of his house was suffering, in expiation of his guilt, under the sword of justice! Infamous *ci-devant* Bishop of Arras! behold the result of thy councils!"\*

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\* Bonaparte informed Count Las Cases, that Louis XVIII. forwarded to him a letter, which he received through the medium of Lebrun, who had it from Abbé de Montesquieu, the secret agent of the Prince at Paris. This epistle, couched in very guarded terms, and written with infinite study, contained, as follows: "*You delay for a great length of time the surrendering up to me my throne; it is to be feared that you will suffer the favourable moment to transpire. You cannot ensure the felicity of France without me, nor can I accomplish any thing for France without you. Use despatch, therefore, and notify yourself all the posts and dignities which you require for yourself and friends.*"

To this application the Consul gave the answer as follows: "*I have received the communication of your Royal Highness; for whose misfortunes, equally with those of your whole family, I have uniformly felt the greatest interest. You must not, however, think of appearing in France, where you could only rule by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Frenchmen. As regards any thing else, I shall ever feel anxious to do all that may tend to alleviate your fate, and urge you to forget your misfortunes.*"

This was not, however, the only attempt made by the Bourbons to negotiate with the First Consul, Napoleon being equally assailed by the arts of the then Count d'Artois, now Charles the Tenth, who, in order to effect his purpose, expedited the Duchess of Guiche, a most lovely and insinuating woman, for the purpose of bringing over

After these exposures, as it would have been madness in the English ministers to deny the facts charged against them, they took a method, unheard of before in the annals of diplomacy, (unless we admit of the old Popish claim to the right of deposing kings and princes when they acted inimical to its usurpation); in fact, the British ministry came forward with a written manifesto to justify itself; for, on the 30th of April, a circular note, signed by Lord Hawkesbury, addressed to the ministers of foreign courts then residents at London, contended for the right of belligerent powers availing themselves of all discontents which might exist in countries with which they were at war, and recriminated upon the French for keeping up a correspondence with his Majesty's disaffected subjects in Ireland; alluding, at the same time, to a corps of Irish rebels in the French service, and then actually on the coast of France, destined to second the former in its designs against the English government. This note went still further: it acknowledged, that even if a minister, accredited by his Majesty at a foreign court, had kept up a correspondence with any person in France, with a view of obtaining information, &c. he had done nothing more than what ministers, under similar circumstances, had always considered they had a right to do.

It does not appear that a single ambassador replied to this extraordinary mode of reasoning, which evidently covered the detestable plea for assassination, under pretext of assisting the inhabitants, justly discontented with any existing government which might be at war with that of Great Britain? Strange as it may appear, this parricidal principle was subsequently acted upon in Russia, and again openly avowed! We call it a parricidal principle, because, as every sovereign is considered the father of his people, the idea of assassinating him, when his subjects

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Bonaparte to forward the views of his family to the French throne. See *Memoirs of Count Las Cases*, and various other works on the *Political Manceuvres of the House of Bourbon*.

are at war, is as cruel and mischievous as that of murdering the father of a family because his children are at variance with another family or nation. Besides, when Englishmen adopt such a principle, what becomes of their favourite maxim, "the King can do no wrong;" and the old axiom, that "the worst of governments is better than a state of anarchy?" No pernicious principle in politics, which admits of retaliation, should ever be adopted; for what language could possibly express the enormity of the French Government, had it descended to the indignity of attempting to retaliate this odious principle upon our then august Sovereign, under the flimsy pretext of assisting the proscribed family of the Stuarts, or any of his "discontented subjects?"

Bonaparte, on his accession to the dignity of First Consul, had thought it requisite to have it established by the suffrages of the people: but this form was no longer deemed needful on being created Emperor; because, the bodies, under the names of the Tribune and the Conservative Senate, represented to him the necessity of his assuming the imperial title, so that this change in the name scarcely excited a debate. Carnot only objected to the assumption of the title of Emperor, upon the same ground as he had resisted the motion for vesting the consular power in Bonaparte, during life; but this opposition was very feeble, and rather served to give the nomination the form of a free debate than otherwise. In fact, every man of discernment perceived that it was of little consequence whether the Sovereign of France were addressed by the name of First Consul or that of Emperor.\* However, on the 5th of May, the Tribune,

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\* Speaking of the host of authors who had vilified him in their writings for his ambition, &c. Napoleon made the following just remark to Las Cases: "I am destined to serve them for pasturage; but I have little apprehension of becoming their victim; they grind their teeth against the granite. My memory is composed of deeds, and mere words will not suffice to destroy them. In order to oppose

exercising the right vested in it by the 29th article of the Constitution, passed the following vote :

“ That Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and, in that capacity, invested with the government of the French Republic.

“ That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of promogenitureship.

“ That, by introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, liberty, and rights of the people, should be preserved in all their integrity.”

Between this vote and the formal address of the Senate to the new Emperor, Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were created Princes of France, and the former was also made Colonel of the 4th regiment of the line, and ordered to Boulogne, to join the army of England. At length,

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me with success, they should appear armed with weight and authority of their own: If the great Frederick, or any other of his stamp, undertook to write against me, the matter would be completely reversed ; it would, in that case, perhaps, be requisite for me to stir myself ; but as for all the rest, be their talents what they may, they will only fire without ball. I shall outlive them. . . . and when they would wish to shine, they will applaud me !”

Brissot left two sons, one of whom lost his life in bringing back to slavery those negroes in St. Domingo, to whose liberty his father had contributed ; and the other was, some years ago, in Paris, in circumstances of distress. He had been placed by the government at one of the Lycées, or public schools, and when called up to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, in common with the other students and the masters, he resolutely refused ; *he could not*, he said, *bring himself to act in such violation of the principles for which his father had died* ; he then walked down the steps of the hall, and returned home. Napoleon, however, respected his principles, and afterwards provided for him.

It having been mentioned to Napoleon, as a reason for patronising the first production of an author, and for speaking more favourably of him in a review than his work intrinsically deserved, that the young man was of a family long distinguished in the annals of literature ; the emperor exclaimed, “ Why, you would not surely carry your ideas of hereditary right so far ! no, no, whatever we lose, let us at least preserve the Republic of Letters.”

the Senate having arranged the new regulations, they were presented, in form, to Napoleon, at St. Cloud, on the 18th of May, when the Consul Cambaceres, President, also read the Organic Act to the sovereign, and delivered the subjoined address.\*

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\* "SIRE, The decree passed by the Senate, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your Imperial Majesty, is only the authentic expression of a will, already manifested by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, adds nothing either to your glory or your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years past, entrusted to your Majesty the reins of Government, and the Constitution of the State has reposed in you the choice of a successor. This more august denomination decreed is therefore only a tribute which the nation pays to its dignity, and to the necessity it experiences of giving you daily testimonies of that respect and attachment which every day increase.

"How could the French nation prescribe limits to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and solicitude for its prosperity! Preserving the remembrance of those evils which it suffered, when abandoned to itself, how could it reflect, without enthusiasm, on the happiness it has experienced since Providence inspired its children with the idea of throwing themselves into your arms! Its legions were defeated; its finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our ancient splendour; every idea of morality, and even of religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power left the magistrates without consideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority. Your Majesty appeared; you recalled victory to our standards; you re-established order and economy in the public expenditure. The nation, encouraged by the use you made of your authority, acquired confidence in its own resources: your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars restored; ideas of justice and injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded by honourable distinctions. Finally, through your genius, the people whom civil effervescence had rendered impatient of every restraint, and hostile to authority, was made to cherish and respect a power exercised only for its glory and repose.

"The French people do not pretend to establish themselves judges of the constitutions of other states; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience will in future become their guide. They have tasted, for ages, the advantage of hereditary power; they have made a short but painful trial of the contrary system; they return, after mature deliberation, to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights by delegating to your Imperial Majesty, a power which your interest forbids you to exercise of yourself. They stipulate for future generations, and by a solemn compact, entrust to the offspring of your race, the hap-

The Organic *Senatus Consultum* was proclaimed by the Emperor, and published throughout Paris on the following day at noon.

His Majesty nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector his Imperial Highness Prince Joseph Bonaparte; to that of Constable, Prince Louis; Consul Cambacères was appointed Arch-chancellor; and Consul Lebrun received the post of Arch-treasurer; all of whom took the necessary oaths in the presence of the Emperor.

His Imperial Majesty then addressed an ordinance to Consul Cambacères in the following terms :

### LETTER.

“ Citizen Consul Cambacères, your title is about to be changed ; but your functions and my confidence re-

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piness of their posterity. The former will imitate your virtues, the latter will inherit our love and fidelity. Happy the nation which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its bosom a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, of conciliating all interests, and uniting all voices : Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affections, of the citizens !

“ If it be in the principles of our constitutions (and already several examples of this kind have been given) to submit to the sanction of the people, that part of the decree which concerns the establishment of an hereditary government, the Senate has conceived that it ought to entreat your Imperial Majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should immediately be carried into execution ; and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the Republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French.”

The Emperor replied in the following terms :

“ Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you deem necessary for the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of its having accumulated honours upon my family. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the Great Nation.”

The Senate being then admitted to an audience with her Majesty the Empress ; the Consul Cambacères, equally addressed Josephine, concluding his harangue in the following words :

“ The Senate deems itself happy in this opportunity of being the first to salute you Empress, while he, who has the honour of standing forth its organ, hopes that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants.”

main the same. In the high dignity of Arch-chancellor, with which you are going to be invested, you will manifest, as you have done in that of Consul, the wisdom of your counsels, and those distinguished talents which have given you so important a share in all the good that I may have accomplished.

"I have nothing, therefore, to request of you, but a continuation of the same sentiments towards the state and myself.

(Signed)

"NAPOLÉON."

At the Palace of St. Cloud, 28 Floreal,

Year 12 (May 18, 1804.)

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, decrees the following generals to be Marshals of the Empire :

"Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessieres.

"The title of Marshals of the Empire to be given to the following Senators :

"Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, Serrurier.

(Signed)

"NAPOLÉON."

"H. MARET, Secretary of State."

Bonaparte, who was too good a politician to suffer the act of his elevation to pass as a mere civil ceremony, lost no time in conferring upon it all the effect it could receive from the aid of religious institutions. His new dignity was, therefore, announced to the French bishops in letters of a similar tendency to the annexed, which was addressed to the Archbishop of Paris. We are the more particular in noticing the religious promises made by Napoleon as there never yet was a potentate who had been able to realize either his projects or his promises in a manner equal to himself. The letter alluded to ran as under.\*

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\* "Cousin, the happiness of the French has always been the dearest object of my thoughts, and their glory that of all my labours."

Regulations for the coronation were ordered by an Imperial Decree, dated from the Palace of St. Cloud, July 9th.

This ceremony was appointed to take place in the month of November following, (the 18th Brumaire,) and certain public functionaries from the several departments, together with detachments from the different military corps, were summoned to attend at Paris on that occasion. The Emperor, however, and his court were soon called off by different circumstances, from the enjoyment of these high and dazzling dignities. These new honours, it seems, previous to being worn, were again to be won in the field. If the Duke d'Enghien was dead his advocates were alive and active. It was rumoured that the territory of the Elector of Baden had been violated in the most indecorous manner, and that the Duke had been forcibly taken in that country and carried off by surprise; but, when this matter was investigated, it appeared that, notwithstanding the complaint this prince sent to his son-in-law, the Emperor of Russia, he might, in the first place, have arrested the emigrants at Ettenheim, or, if he had chosen so to do, apprized the Duke of his danger, and prevented his falling into the hands of the French.

From the relationship between the Emperor of Russia and the Elector of Baden, and the anxiety which the English government had indulged of bringing Russia

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Called by Divine Providence and the constitution of the Republic to the imperial power, I see in this new order of things only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose with confidence in the powerful succour of the Most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by instruction, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all Christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of heaven upon the nation and upon the supreme chief of the state. I write you this letter, that, as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, &c. &c.



once more into the contest, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the French emigrants had been placed at Offenburgh and Ettenheim, as a snare to induce the French Government to commit itself with the Potentate of the North and the empire of Germany. The Emperor of Russia, however, took the earliest opportunity of showing the interest he felt in the fate of the Duke d'Enghien; and, notwithstanding the reasons which the French had assigned for their conduct, he transmitted a note to Paris, through M. D'Oubril, concerning this infringement of the German territory. To that communication M. Talleyrand replied; but his arguments, though very pointed, did not, by any means, satisfy the Emperor of Russia; the fact was, he wished to be a champion, but, though determined to fight, was still not so foolhardy as to begin before he had called the German empire to his assistance. Yet, though this representation and the professions of the Emperor of Russia laid the foundations for a new war, the flame thus kindled was some time before it broke out. After various representations and recriminations on both sides, the Russian minister, D'Oubril, who began only with remonstrating upon the proceedings against the Duke d'Enghien, concluded by adding several new demands, and in the middle of July he threw them into the following diplomatic form:—

“ The undersigned has been ordered to declare that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris unless the following demands be previously complied with.

I. “ That the French Government shall cause its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and, when that is done, engage to respect the neutrality of the kingdom during the present and any future war.

II. “ That the French Government shall promise to establish immediately some principle in concert with his Imperial Majesty for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted.

III. “ That it shall engage to indemnify, without

delay, the King of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained.

IV. " That the French Government shall promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the North of Germany, and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body.

" The undersigned begs to add that he has received orders from his government to demand a categorical answer to these four points.

" D'OUBRIL."

The answer demanded was given, and, in consequence, M. D'Oubril made preparations for leaving Paris; but, in the interim, as one of the great powers had thus led the way, France found herself doomed to hear language still more offensive and hostile from Sweden. Accordingly, on the 27th of July, a note was presented by the Swedish minister at Ratisbon, in which the King, as Duke of Pomerania, very strongly protested against the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, and called upon the Germanic body to unite and obtain satisfaction from France for the violation of its territory, &c. In this document the King of Sweden not only urged his being a member of the Germanic constitution but also a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; circumstances at that time, considering what had happened to the empire, just as chimerical as if his Majesty George the Fourth was, at this present moment, to insist upon the validity of his honorary title as King of France!

Immediately after this, an order was issued at Stockholm whereby French journals of every description, and other publications, were strictly prohibited from being imported into Sweden.

Notwithstanding this violence on the part of the *members*, the Emperor, although at the head of the empire, was not quite so hasty in espousing their quarrels, or entering the lists with Napoleon. Francis, indeed,

having felt himself completely despoiled of most of his former honours, and that he was, in reality, no longer Emperor of Germany, still, resolving not to lose his former *nominal* dignity, determined on assuming the new title of Emperor of Austria. On the 11th of August, therefore, a royal patent appeared, dated from Vienna, in which the Emperor declared that, after the example of Russia in the preceding century, and that so recently given him by the new sovereign of France, he had determined, after mature reflection, on assuming, for himself and his successors, the title of Hereditary Emperor of Austria.

This dignity, in imitation of that which Napoleon had been supposed to have conferred upon himself, was quietly assumed in the cabinet; but it will very soon appear that both of them were yet to be contended for, and either lost or confirmed on the field of battle.

In the month of November, the English ministers were surprised on hearing that the French had seized and carried off Sir George Rumbold, the British *Charge d'Affaires* to the Hans Towns and the circle of Lower Saxony, while at Hamburgh, on the night of the 25th of the preceding month; his papers had also been seized; and that he had been hurried to Paris, and there confined in the Temple. From this temporary incarceration Sir George was, however, liberated, and sent to England shortly after by one of the most temporizing of all monarchs, viz. the King of Prussia. Still the English did not fail to exclaim against this violation of the person of an ambassador, on the part of the French, as one of the most odious outrages against the law of nations. They forgot that the act of getting possession of the papers of accredited agents, even by seizure and violence, was an old though dangerous practice of *civilized* governments, nor did it occur to the defenders of the British ministry that if any insult had been offered to one of their ambassadors they had only to thank themselves, as Lord

Hawkesbury's note on the propriety of employing agents in foreign nations as spies and excitors of sedition in an enemy's country had placed them out of the pale of the law of nations. This, indeed, was one of the first efforts of the *new morality*, which the war-faction subsequently improved upon.

On the 25th of November, his Holiness the Pope arrived at Fontainebleau, for the purpose of officiating at the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon, which had been fixed for that month. Bonaparte, who was enjoying the chase at the moment of his arrival, met him at La Croix de St. Herem, upon which both alighted and embraced each other; six of his Majesty's carriages then came up, into one of which Napoleon first entered, and placed his Holiness upon his right hand, when they arrived at the castle through two lines of troops and a thunder of artillery. Cardinal Capura and the great officers of the household, received them at the bottom of the gilt staircase, up which they both proceeded as far as the spot which separated their apartments: his Holiness, having there quitted the Emperor, was conducted by the Grand Chamberlain, the Grand Marshal of the palace, (Duroc,) and the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, to the apartments prepared for him; when, having rested some time, he paid a formal visit to the Emperor, and afterwards to the Empress, after which her Majesty reconducted him as far as the second room of her apartments, the Pope then returning to his own chamber, where the ministers and great officers of the empire were presented to him. At four o'clock the Emperor sent notice to the Pope that he intended waiting upon him, and accordingly repaired to the closet of his Holiness; the same ceremony was observed on the Pope's returning this visit, and at each interview they remained together about half an hour.\*

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\* Pope Pius the Sixth was described by one deeply read in the human character, who had lived in habits of intimacy with the holy

The ceremony of the coronation took place on the 2d of December, the day appointed,† when the senate,

father, as blending in his mind the eager curiosity and simplicity of a recluse with great natural shrewdness and intelligence; Paris opened a new scene of observation to this dignified monk, and he expressed his wonder and admiration with all the *naïveté* and frankness of childhood. "I have seen a great deal," he observed to one whom Napoleon had recommended to him as a *ciceroni*, "but I have not yet seen the *Palais Royal*; pray let us go there."—"St. Père," returned the baron, "*c'est impossible*," adding, that it would commit the character of his holiness, and compromise the discretion of his guide. "But I would go," replied the Pope, eagerly, "*travestito da curato*." This extraordinary masquerade did not, however, take place.

While the Pope remained in Paris a number of idle boys made a trade of assembling under his windows, to sell his benediction, which they did by crying, "*Les benedictions du très St. Père, pour deux sous!*" "The benedictions of the most holy father for one penny!" and, when they had collected a crowd, and received the money, *they commenced an outcry, calling on the Pope to appear, and to bestow his benediction*; in the same manner as the English mob called for "*Blucher*" and "*the Emperor*," when those personages were in London. The Pope always complied with their demand, appeared, and gave the required benediction, perfectly unconscious of the trick that was played on him. His amiable manners won golden opinions from all who had access to him; and as far as he was known in France, either as a guest, or as a prisoner, he was popular, pitied, and admired.

† Much has been said and many animadversions made upon Bonaparte's placing the crown upon his own head, and not waiting to receive it from the hands of the Pope, and he is represented as having snatched it impatiently from the holy father. That he placed the crown on his own head is very true, but that he snatched it from the Pope's hands is an error. The crowns, both for himself and the Empress, were laid upon the altar; and the Pope, having anointed the foreheads and temples of the Emperor and Empress with oil, which he had previously consecrated for the purpose, proceeded to bless and consecrate the crowns, taking them in his hands as he pronounced the benediction. He then replaced them on the altar; and, retiring to his own seat, Napoleon advanced. Taking in his hand the crown destined for himself, which was a *wreath of laurel*, he pronounced the oath to the nation, which had been decreed by the senate, and repeated a formula signifying his acknowledgement that he held the crown by the favour of God and the French people; after which he placed it upon his head. The Empress then advancing, he raised, in like manner, the crown destined for her, in form the same as the queens of France used to wear, and pronouncing a formula purporting that she held the crown only as his true and lawful wife, and not from any right inherent in herself, he placed the diadem upon her head.

The Emperor Napoleon was not anointed with the *sainte ampoule*, the holy oil, with which the kings of France were formerly conse-

pursuant to a former resolution, presented itself in a body, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the palace of the Tuileries. Having been introduced into the chamber of state, the members were presented to the Emperor by Prince Joseph, the Grand Elector, when his Excellency, M. Francis de Neufchateau, addressed his Majesty, not in a strain of the most fulsome flattery, as our newspapers were pleased to term every thing of the kind directed to the French Emperor, nor yet altogether devoid of that agreeable kind of embellishment, being couched in the following terms:—

“ FATHER OF THY COUNTRY !

“ In the name of that protecting God, bestow a blessing on thy children ; and, relying on their fidelity, be assured that nothing can either efface from their minds or root out of their hearts the engagements resulting from the mutual contract that has just been entered into between the French nation and the imperial family. In the absence of the throne all great characters yield themselves up to faction ; a people is so much the more to be pitied in proportion to the number of its distinguished children ; all that might constitute the pride of nations then becomes their scourge. From the moment that the throne is worthily occupied, eminent virtues claim the reward of approaching nearer to it ; and the distinction is so much the more flattering, as real dignities carry with them more imposing names.

“ The title of Emperor implies the law ; not of that

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crated at Rheims, and which was reputed to have been brought originally from heaven by an angel for the consecration of Pepin, the first Christian king of France. From that time a constant supply had been always miraculously furnished ; so that, whatever quantity was used, the original stock was never diminished. But the revolution, in depriving France of her ancient race of sovereigns, deprived her also of this sacred unguent ; and the unholy dynasty, by which the throne of France was afterwards filled, was content to receive no other unction than what might be used upon the most ordinary occasion.

royalty before which subjects humble and prostrate themselves, but the great and liberal idea of a first magistrate governing in the name of those laws which citizens feel honour in obeying.

"The title of Senate equally indicates an assembly of chosen magistrates of tried experience and venerable in years. The greater the Emperor is the more august should be the Senate."

His Majesty replied in the following terms:—

"I ascend the throne to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the nation, and the army have called me, with a heart penetrated by the great destinies of that people whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted under the name of 'Great.' From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them, and I must add that my pleasures and pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne; in the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives in defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget that contempt of the laws and the confusion of social order are only the result of the imbecility and unsteadiness of princes. You, senators! whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances; your spirit will be handed down to your successors: be ever the props and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

It is unnecessary to add, that the coronation of Napoleon was distinguished by all the usual testimonies of public joy.\* On our side of the water it proved only a

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\* The largest picture ever known to have been executed, prior to M. David's representation of the ceremony of Napoleon's inauguration, is the justly celebrated performance of Paul Veronese, now at the Louvre, being thirty-three feet long, and eighteen high: whereas, that of which we speak contains two hundred and ten personages, eighty of whom are whole lengths, and is thirty-three feet long, and twenty-one high. This performance occupied four years in its com-

source of additional chagrin to those who were interested in the war, or who gave credit to the representations of

pletion, during which many impediments were thrown in the way of the artist's labour, by the clergy on the one hand, and the orders of the emperor on the other. Cardinal Caprara, for instance, who is represented bareheaded, producing one of the finest heads in the picture, was very desirous of being painted with the decoration of his wig; Napoleon had also ordered the Turkish ambassador to be exhibited in company with the other envoys; but he objected, because the law of the Koran forbids to Mahometans the entrance into a Christian church. His consent, however, was at length obtained, and these scruples removed, under the consideration, that, in the character of an ambassador, he belonged to no religious sect.

During the execution of this colossal picture M. David was incessantly interrupted by the applications from artists to witness the progress of his work; amongst whom was Camucini, prince of the Roman school, and the late famous statuary Canova, who daily presented themselves at the artist's painting gallery. At the last visit made by Camucini he found David surrounded by many of his pupils, and on taking leave of the painter, he bowed to him in the most respectful manner, using the following expressive words on the occasion :

*" Adio il piu bravo pittore di scholari ben bravi."*

On Canova's return to Italy, in order to fulfil what he conceived to be his duty in regard to this artist, he proposed to the academy of Saint Lue, that he should be received an honorary member; when the academicians set aside their usual forms, and, in honour of M. David, unanimously elected him one of their body, Canova being chosen to announce this pleasing intelligence to their new associate.

The picture was completed in 1807, when, prior to its public exposition, Napoleon appointed a day to inspect it in person, which was the 4th of January, 1808; upon which occasion, in order to confer a greater honour upon the artist, he went in state, attended by a detachment of horse and a military band, accompanied by the Empress Josephine, the princes and princesses of his family, and followed by his ministers and the great officers of the crown.

Several criticisms had been previously passed upon the composition, which had gained the emperor's ear, and in particular, that it was not the coronation of Napoleon, but of his consort; the moment selected by the painter was, however, highly approved by his master, who, after an attentive examination of the work, expressed himself in these words.

*" M. David, this is well; very well indeed; you have conceived my whole idea; the empress, my mother, the emperor, all, are most appropriately placed, you have made me a French knight, and I am gratified, that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I was desirous of testifying towards the empress."* After a silence of some seconds, Napoleon's hat being on, and Josephine standing at his right hand, with M. David on his left, the emperor advanced two steps, and, turning to the painter, uncovered



ministers and their hireling advocates. Having nothing better to urge, they objected that it was cruel in the

himself; making a profound obeisance while uttering these words in an elevated tone of voice, "*Monsieur David, I salute you!*"

"Sire," replied the painter, "I receive the compliment of the Emperor, in the name of all the artists of the empire, happy in being the individual one, you deign to make the channel of such an honour."

In the month of October, 1808, when this performance was removed to the museum, the Emperor wished to inspect it a second time; and M. David, in consequence, attended in the hall of the Louvre, surrounded by his pupils; upon which occasion, at the Emperor's desire, having pointed out the most conspicuous *élèves* who received the decoration of the legion of honour: "*It is requisite,*" said Napoleon, "*that I should testify my satisfaction to the master of so many distinguished artists; therefore, I promote you to be officer of the legion of honour: M. Duroc, give a golden decoration to M. David!*" "Sire, I have none with me," answered the Grand Marshal. "No matter," replied the Emperor; "*do not let this day transpire without executing my order.*" Duroc, although no friend to the painter, was obliged to obey, and on the same evening the insignia were forwarded to M. David.

The King of Wirtemberg, at the suggestion of the Emperor, also waited upon the artist to inspect his labour, who on contemplating the performance, and in particular, the luminous brightness spread over the group in which are the Pope and Cardinal Caprara, his Majesty thus expressed himself: "I did not believe that your art could effect such wonders; white and black in painting afford but very weak resources. When you produced this you had, no doubt, a sunbeam upon your pencil."

This compliment, which displayed great knowledge of the art, surprised the painter, who, after offering his thanks, added: "Sire, your conception, and the mode in which you express it, bespeak either the practical artist or the well-informed amateur. Your Majesty has doubtless learned to paint." "Yes," said the King, "I sometimes occupy myself with the art, and all my brothers possess a similar taste; that one in particular, who frequently visits you, has acquired some celebrity; for his performances are not like the generality of royal paintings, they are worthy of the artist. M. David," added the monarch, "I dare not hope to obtain a copy of this picture; but you may indemnify me by placing my name at the head of the subscribers to the engraving; pray do not forget me."

As the generality of my readers may not be acquainted with the reason for Napoleon's adopting the bee as an ornament on his robes at the coronation, the following anecdote may not prove uninteresting. It was a custom in France, during its early and barbarous ages, that whenever a monarch died, his horse and page were killed and buried with their master, that they might be in readiness to attend upon him in the next world. In the year 1653, the tomb of Childeric, the

extreme the having forced the poor old Pope to undertake a journey from Rome to Paris, in order to crown Bonaparte; and yet this is the nation that, in its capital, at least, burned the Pope, in effigy, every year, for crimes committed two centuries ago! But the real cause of their mortification was, to find that his Holiness being rendered subservient to the French Emperor as a temporal prince, there was no longer any hope, on the part of the allies, of making use of his authority in furtherance of their designs: for if the Pope, or any person properly delegated by him, would have given absolution to certain agents, that the allies might have hired to assassinate the French Emperor, even such would have been a material point preserved; but under the then circumstances that, with several other hopes and resources, had equally failed them.

Thus passed the whole of the year 1804; on our side, the physical advantages gained over the ships and colonies of our enemies were but few compared with the moral

father of Clovis, was discovered, and within it were found the skeleton of a man, that of a horse, and part of the skeleton of a youth, concluded to be the remains of Childeric and his companions. On further search in the tomb were found a purse, containing above a hundred pieces of gold and two hundred pieces of silver, bearing the heads of different emperors of France; a crystal ball or orb, a pike, a battle-axe, the handle, mounting, and blade of a sword; gold tablets and style; the bit, and part of the harness of a horse; fragments of a dress or robe; and more than three hundred little bees of the purest gold, their wings being inlaid with a red stone like cornelian. The appropriation of this emblem was hence suggested to Napoleon. A gold signet ring was taken from the finger of the larger skeleton; upon it appeared an engraved head, having long hair flowing over the shoulders, and around it the words, "*Childerici Regis*;" several buckles, massy gold bracelets, and a golden head of an ox, supposed to be an image of the idolatrous worship of the deceased.

Among the various pastimes displayed on this august occasion was the letting off a balloon, accompanied by two pigeons, whereto was affixed a full account of this pompous ceremony. It is a singular circumstance that this aerial machine, after a lapse of twenty-two hours, fell precisely before one of the gates of Rome; of which an account appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 15th or 16th of the same month. This was regarded by many as an ominous circumstance.

advantages obtained by France. As these are very admirably explained in the French annual *exposé*, delivered at the opening of the session of the legislative body at Paris, on the 26th of December, 1804, we presume we cannot close our history of Bonaparte, to that period, in a more advantageous manner, than by presenting to our readers, in the subjoined note, a partial retrospect of public affairs, contained in a state paper, not less valuable for what it related of the past than what it promised in respect to the future; presenting facts that could neither be weakened by sophistry or darkened by prejudice.\*

\* "GENTLEMEN!—I am about to have the honour of laying before you the existing state of the French empire. The interior of France is, at this period, what it was in the calmest times: no movement which can alarm public tranquillity; no crime which belongs to the remembrance of the revolution; everywhere useful undertakings, and the improvement of public and private property attest the progress of confidence and security; the principles of social order, better known and more refined, have attached all hearts to one common prosperity: this is what every administration proclaims; this is what the Emperor has witnessed in all the departments through which he has travelled; the armies have seen themselves separated from their generals, all the military corps from their chiefs; the superior tribunals deprived of their first magistrates; the public ministry of its organs; the churches of their pastors; the towns, the districts, simultaneously abandoned by every one who had power and influence over men's minds: the population everywhere left to its genius; and the people showing themselves desirous of order and of the laws. At the same moment the Sovereign Pontiff has travelled through France; from the banks of the Po to the borders of the Seine, and has uniformly been the object of religious homage.

A plot, laid by an implacable government, was on the point of replunging France into the abyss of civil war and anarchy: on the discovery of that horrid treason, all France was moved, and the nation having experienced that power divided was without unison and strength, and being made sensible, that, entrusted for a time, it was only precarious, and permitted neither long labours nor mature thoughts; that, entrusted for the life of a single man, it grew weak with him, and was left, after him, to the chances of discord and anarchy; it was convinced, in fine, that the only safety for great nations was in hereditary power: which could alone secure its political life, and embrace, in its duration, generations and ages. The senate was, as it should be, the organ of this common disquietude: it was proclaimed by the electoral colleges, by the armies, the council of state, and the magistracy; the most enlightened men, in short, were consulted, and their answer was unanimous.

The commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by a very singular trait in the character of the French

The necessity of hereditary power, in a state so vast as France, had been, long since, obvious to the First Consul : in vain had he resisted the force of principles ; in vain had he tried to establish a system of election, which might perpetuate public authority, and transmit it without danger and without troubles : the hopes of our enemies were employed to annihilate his work ; his death was to be the ruin of his labours. It was till this period that foreign jealousy and the spirit of discord and anarchy awaited us : reason, sentiment, experience, dictated equally to all Frenchmen, that there was no certain transmission of power but that which was effected without intermission, that there was no tranquil succession but that which was regulated by the laws of nature. When such motives supported such pressing wishes the determination of the First Consul could not be doubtful : he resolved to accept for himself, and two of his brothers in succession, the load which was imposed on him by the necessity of circumstances. From his meditations, ripened by conferences with the members of the senate, by discussions in the councils, by the observations of the wisest men, was formed a series of dispositions, which fixes the inheritance of the imperial throne ; which assigns to the princes their rights and duties ; which promises to the heir of the empire an education regulated by the laws, and such as will render him worthy of his high destinies. These dispositions were decreed by the *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th *Floral* : the French people has manifested its free and independent will ; that the imperial dignity should be hereditary, in the direct, legitimate, and adoptive descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, of Joseph Bonaparte, and of Louis Bonaparte. At the same moment Napoleon was, by the most just of titles, hailed Emperor of the French ; no other act was necessary to ascertain his rights and consecrate his authority, than his wish to restore to France her ancient forms, to recal those institutions which the Divinity seems to have inspired, and to impress upon the beginning of his reign the seal of religion herself. To give to the French a striking proof of his paternal tenderness, the Chief of the Church is willing to lend his ministry to this august ceremony. In the midst of such pomp, and under the eye of the Eternal, Napoleon will pronounce the immutable oath, which secures the integrity of the empire, the stability of property, the perpetuity of institutions, and respect for the laws, and happiness of the nation ! The oath of Napoleon will be for ever a terror to her enemies, and the buckler of the French. A project of a criminal code has been submitted to the censure of the tribunals, and is now undergoing a final discussion in the Council of State, together with those of Procedure and Commerce. The Schools of Legislation are about to open ; inspectors are nominated, who will enlighten public instruction, and prevent its degenerating : the Lyceums and the Secondary Schools are filling with youth eager for instruction : Fontainebleau has already sent forth military men, remarked in our armies for their martial appearance, their knowledge, and their respect for discipline. The Polytechnic School peoples with useful hands our arsenals, our ports, and our ma-

**Emperor.**—To some of our English writers this action appeared so extraordinary, that they doubted whether it

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manufactories: At Compiègne the School of Arts and Trades obtains, every day, new successes: that which is to be formed upon the borders of La Vendée is expected with impatience, and will, shortly, flourish in complete activity. Prizes have been decreed to sciences, to letters, and to arts, and, in a period of ten years, assigned to labour that his Majesty wishes to recompense, he has a right to expect that French genius will bring forth new masterpieces. In the department of bridges and highways the works have been carried on with constancy, and every year prepares new schemes for the prosperity of the state. In the centre of La Vendée a new city is erecting, intended to be the seat of administration: from thence it will exercise over every point an active and sure superintendence; from thence knowledge and sound principles will be propagated throughout that department, in which ignorance and the want of instruction have so frequently delivered over simple and honest minds to the intrigues of malevolence. Decrees of the Emperor have recalled commerce to the left bank of the Rhine, and bestowed on Mentz and Cologne all the advantages of real emporiums, without the danger of introducing contraband goods into the interior of France. Manufactures are improving; and whilst, in vain declamations, mercenaries, paid by the British government, boast its distant and precarious resources, dispersed over the seas and the Indies; whilst they describe our workshops as deserted, and our workmen dying with misery, our industry extends its roots over our own soil, repels English goods far from our frontiers, and has succeeded in equalling it, in what formed its glory and success, the perfection of its machinery; and is alike preparing to dispute pre-eminence in every place where it can meet with and attain it. Our first manufacture, agriculture has enlarged and become clear by a system of exportation, that insures to the husbandman the price of his labour and abundance to our markets. New encouragements prepare the improvement of the race of our horses; our wools are meliorated; our fields are covered with cattle, and throughout every district of the empire its true riches multiply.

Religion has resumed its empire; it is no longer exercised but for the good of humanity; a wise tolerance accompanies its doctrines, and the ministers of different forms of worship, who adore the same God, do honour to themselves by testimonies of reciprocal respect, and know no other rivalry than that of virtue. Such is our internal position: without;—French courage, seconded by Spanish good faith, has preserved to us St. Domingo. Martinique braves the menaces of our enemies, and, under a paternal government, renders stronger and more durable the ties which attach it to the mother country. Guadeloupe has enriched itself with the spoils of British commerce; and Guyana continues to prosper under an active and vigorous administration. The Isles of France and of Re-union would be, at the present day, the emporium of the riches of Asia, and London would despair, had not inexperience or weakness baffled a scheme most ably concerted. Our armies are always deserving of their reputation: with

ought to be characterized by the peculiar epithet of presumption, insolence, or folly: in fact, he had the temerity

the same valour and the same discipline, they have acquired that patience, which waits for opportunities without murmuring, and confides in the prudence and designs of the chief who conducts them. Our fleets, by continual manœuvres, lead the way to combats; and whilst those of our enemies are wearing out, in striving against winds and tempests, ours learn, without destroying themselves, to fight against them. Finally, having by the war acquired Hanover, we are more than ever enabled to strike decisive blows against our enemies. Our navy is in a better state than for the last ten years; upon land our army is more numerous, better disciplined, and provided with every thing calculated to ensure victory. In the department of finance, the same activity prevails in collecting the receipts, the same regularity in the management, and the administration of the treasure; and almost uniformly the same stability prevails in the value of the public debt. The revenues of the crown will support all the expenses of the coronation, and those still demanded by the splendour of the throne: the lustre which surrounds it will never be a burden to the nation. The situation of Europe has experienced but one important change. Spain, reposing under a neutrality to which France had consented, and which the British cabinet had acknowledged, was suddenly attacked, and the Treaty of Amiens violated in regard to her, as it had previously been in respect to France. His Catholic Majesty has adopted the expedient imposed upon him by the dignity of his throne and the honour of a generous people, whose destinies he directs. The Emperor of Austria devotes himself to the restoration of his finances, the progress of commerce, and the interests of his subjects. The Italian republic, governed by the same principles as France, requires a definitive organization, which may ensure to the present and future generations all the advantages of the social pact. United to that republic by the duties imposed on him, as president and founder of the state, his Majesty will reply to the confidence it testifies towards him, and ensure its destinies and independence. Helvetia enjoys in peace the benefits of her constitution, the wisdom of her citizens, and our alliance. Batavia still groans under an oligarchical government, without either union in its views, patriotism, or vigour. Its colonies have been, a second time, sold and delivered up to England, without firing a gun; but that nation possesses energy, morals, and economy; it requires only a firm, patriotic, and enlightened government. The King of Prussia has uniformly shown himself the friend of France; and the Emperor has profited by every occurrence that presented itself, to consolidate such happy harmony. The Electors, and all the members of the Germanic body, faithfully maintain the relations of benevolence and friendship which unite it to France. Denmark follows the counsels of a wise, moderate, and judicious policy. The spirit of Catharine the Great will watch over the councils of Alexander I. he will recollect that the friendship of France is a necessary counterpoise for him in the balance of Europe; that, placed at a distance from her,

to address his Britannic Majesty, personally, in a letter written with his own hand; in which he deprecated the further continuance of a war, in the prosecution of which so much useless blood was shed, without any view or object whatsoever: he said "he thought it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation, in a moment which afforded the most favourable opportunity to silence the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. He adjured his Majesty not to deny himself the pleasure of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that delightful task to his children. He reminded the British monarch, that the latter *had gained more in the last ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe*; but that the effect of such a measure would be to increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France only. Did England hope to renew the internal troubles of France, or destroy her finances, or deprive her of her colonies? a war would produce no such effects. The French were happy; a flourishing state of agriculture was the support of their finances, and the colonies were but a secondary object: besides, had not the King of England, at that moment, more than he knew how to preserve?" (After some further reasoning

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he can neither preserve nor disturb her repose, and that his great interest is, to find in his relations with her a necessary vent for the productions of his empire. Turkey is wavering in her politics; she follows, through fear, a system which her interest disavows. May she never learn, at the expense of her own existence, that fear and irresolution accelerate the fall of empires, and are a thousand times more fatal than the dangers and losses of an unfortunate war! Whatever may be the movement of England, the destinies of France are fixed; strong in her union, her riches, and the courage of her defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and never act so as either to deserve enemies or to fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the continent; that France will never accept any other conditions than those of Amiens, nor consent to leave her the right of breaking treaties at pleasure, by appropriating Malta to herself; then, and only then, will England have acquired pacific sentiments, and become convinced that hatred and envy have only their day."

of a similar cast, this document concluded with the following words :) " If your Majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object and void of any presumable beneficial result as regards yourself! Alas! what a melancholy prospect! to cause two nations to combat only for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently capacious for our two nations to exist together; and reason is powerful enough to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. Peace," Napoleon also observed, "*was his first wish, though war had never been inconsistent with his glory.* He thought there never was a more fortunate opportunity than the existing one, to ratify amity; that moment once lost, he demanded, what end could be assigned for a war, which all his efforts would not be able to terminate."

To this pathetic letter the following cold systematic answer was returned; not from the hand of the Monarch, but from that of Lord Mulgrave, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; dated 14th of January, 1805, and addressed to M. Talleyrand.

" His Britannic Majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the Head of the French Government, dated the 2d of the present month. There is no object which his Majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure for his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on such a basis as may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions: his Majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may, at the same time, provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent a recurrence of those dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably with this sentiment, his Majesty feels it impossible to answer more particularly the



overture that has been made, until he has had time to communicate with the powers on the Continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations ; and, particularly, the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments wherewith he is animated, and the lively interest he takes in the safety and independence of the Continent.

“MULGRAVE.”

Notwithstanding such an indefinite answer as the above, it was generally allowed that the French Emperor's letter no longer breathed that tone of arrogant superiority which characterized the language of the French Government during the preceding year ; no reference whatsoever was made to the impossibility of England contending against France “single-handed ;” nor any apparent wish to consider us in any other light than as a formidable rival.

Early in the month of February this letter with the above answer were communicated to the French legislative body, by order of the Emperor. M. Segur, in presenting those documents, introduced them with a speech, which plainly evinced the French Government was not pleased with the answer it had received. M. Segur would not admit that Russia, Austria, or Prussia, would embark in a war merely to gratify England ; yet, if he was wrong in those premises, he was right in his conclusion ; viz. “That the hopes of England, in a third coalition, were vain and chimerical ; and that it only remained for French bravery to display its consolidated energies, and finally triumph over that eternal enemy to the liberty of the seas and the repose of nations.”

Yet even after this imperial letter and its answer had been made public, it is to be inferred, from the speech of M. Talleyrand, that it was still the wish of the French Government the overture should be considered as open, and that, after Russia had been consulted, farther dis-

cussions of an amicable nature might take place. M. Talleyrand observed, "That on a question regarding a multitude of interests and passions, which had never been in unison, they ought not to rest upon a single symptom. Time (he said) would soon develope to the French the secret resolutions of the English Government; should those be just and moderate, the calamities of war would cease; should (said he), on the contrary, this first appearance of accommodation prove but a false light, intended to answer speculations of credit, to facilitate a loan, the acquisition of money, &c.; we shall know how far the dispositions of the enemy are implacable and obstinate; we shall then have to banish all hope from a dangerous lure, and trust, without reserve, to the goodness of our cause, the justice of Providence, and the genius of the Emperor." Time, which has been the best comment upon the actions of these ministers who used this language, could it furnish itself with a tongue, would have had no occasion for the pen of the historian. Time, in reality, evinced that those hopes of peace were unsubstantial; that the British ministers, and the mercantile interest that governed them, talked of peace but wished for war; it has equally proved, that while all the hopes founded upon these mean and mercenary considerations were ruinously deceptive, the speculations of the French were not only realized, but even the most sanguine of their wishes far exceeded; and that they did not trust in vain to the goodness of their cause, the justice of Providence, or the genius of their Emperor.

With respect to Italy, it was observed, that though Bonaparte, certainly one of the most fortunate, if not the greatest character on which the page of history ever dwelt, had taken upon himself the style and title of Emperor of the Gauls; yet, respect for a form of government he had so recently established in the Northern and Middle Provinces of Italy, induced him to forego, at the moment of his advancement to the imperial diadem, the

personal sovereignty of that country. He; however, felt himself emboldened, in the course of the present year, to extend his views of family aggrandizement, and the iron crown of Charlemagne was destined to circle the brows of Napoleon; who, when he was hailed King of Italy, had his views upon the Northern Provinces and the fertile Island of Sicily. It would be deemed trifling to dwell upon the solicitations that were sent from various parts of Italy, beseeching the Emperor to assume to himself, and his heirs, the Italian diadem. It is sufficient to say, that, on the 25th of May, Bonaparte, having repaired to the city of Milan, one of the first witnesses of his astonishing military talents was there crowned with the utmost splendour, solemnity, and imposing magnificence.

The Emperor, seated on a superb throne, having at his right the honours of the empire, on the left those of Italy, and before him the insignia of Charlemagne, was invested with the usual forms of royalty, by the Cardinal Archbishop, and finally ascending to the altar, took to himself the Iron Crown, and placing it upon his head, exclaimed aloud, (it being a part of the ancient ceremony on enthroning the Lombard Kings,) *Dieu me la donne; garde à qui la touche*, viz. "God gives it to me; beware those who touch it."

After the ceremony, the new Constitutional Code was communicated to the states; the most remarkable of its provisions being that which vested the regal authority solely in the person of Napoleon, with the privilege of naming his successor; after which, the crown, with certain limitations, was to be hereditary. It was decreed, that the future monarch should constantly reside within the Italian states, but that, while the present King retained his crown, he might be represented by a Viceroy, who should positively reside within the boundaries of the kingdom. After the death of Napoleon, it was also stipulated, that the kingdom must never again be vested in the same person as ruled the French empire. However, imme-

diately after the promulgation of this body of laws, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of Madame Bonaparte, by her former husband, was appointed Viceroy, and a new order of knighthood, namely, that of the *Iron Crown*, instituted, with considerable revenues attached to that dignity; and the organization of the new kingdom was soon after arranged and completed.\*

It can scarcely be doubted, that the French Emperor's design in causing himself to be crowned King of Italy, was to strengthen his frontiers; and particularly to guard

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\* Upon the election of Bonaparte to be first consul, Bologna followed the fortunes of the *ci-devant* Cisalpine Republic. The departmental administration remained unchanged; but an additional council was created to provide for local contingencies, and to levy a local tax for the expenses these might occasion. The deliberations of this body were subject to the approbation of the prefect. By this change of government, the debt of the province (being thirty-two millions) became national.

On the 8th of June, 1805, Napoleon being declared King of Italy, the departmental administrations and councils ceased; and the fiscal arrangements of the province became absorbed in those of the kingdom at large. The arrival of Napoleon at Bologna was followed by numerous acts of regal munificence. The debt contracted by the commissioners for securing the course of the rivers was added to the national debt. At the same time, the immediate completion of the works on the new line of bed for the emptying the Reno into the Po, was ordered, and the expense directed to be charged on the public treasury. A public garden and walk were likewise commanded at Bologna, and funds were assigned for its construction and maintenance; and a property of one hundred and fifty thousand francs was also granted for the enlargement of the museum, and other establishments of the university. The internal economy of the departments, under this régime, was the same as in all the other departments of the empire and the kingdom.

It is a singular circumstance, and it tells forcibly in favour of the French régime, and of the natural genius and activity of the Bolognese people, that, notwithstanding the vicissitudes which those provinces had undergone, notwithstanding the variety and long continuance of military occupation, and the magnitude of the contributions paid, there was no part of Italy in higher cultivation, more prosperous in its external appearance, more comfortable in its buildings, or more replete with a well dressed, and well fed population. Much of this prosperity might be attributed to the enterprising character of the French government under Napoleon, and to the difference between the stirring, bustling tyranny of its military chiefs, and that lethargic, benumbing despotism, which, under Austrian and Papal governments, opposes every development of the intellectual and physical faculties of the subject, and does its best to convert a paradise into a desert.

against his implacable enemy the King, or rather the Queen of Naples. The observation made to the King of Great Britain in the letter addressed to him, respecting his vast acquisition of territory, for the last ten years, upon the continent of India, may also be looked upon as a kind of apology on the part of the French Emperor, for the liberties he had taken in that of Europe; but, as deference to ancient usages could no longer be expected, the French Emperor was now determined, formally, to unite the territory of the once proud city of Genoa to his own possessions. The ceremony attending this act took place also at Milan, on the 4th of June, when the Doge of Genoa, in a full convocation of the great officers of state, addressed, and solicited the French Emperor to grant the Genoese nation the happiness of being his subjects, when his Majesty returned a very long and gracious answer, in the course of which he said :—

“ I will realize your wish: I will unite you to my great people. It will prove to me a new means of rendering more efficacious the protection I have always loved to grant. My people will receive you with pleasure: they know that, in all circumstances, you have assisted their arms with friendship, and have supported them with all your aid. They find, besides, in possessing your ports, an increase of maritime power, which is necessary to them for maintaining their lawful rights against the oppressors of the seas. By this union with my people, you possess a continent, whereas you had only ports and a marine. You will find a flag, which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain, on all the seas of the universe, constantly free from insult, from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognise but for places really blockaded, as well by sea as by land. You will find yourselves sheltered under it from this degrading slavery, the existence of which I reluctantly suffer with respect to weaker nations, but from which I will always guarantee my subjects.”

Having settled these important concerns, the French Emperor left Italy on his return to Paris, where he arrived on the 12th of August.\* But, as it has been supposed that he was seriously deceived in his expectations of a continental peace, and, therefore, thought himself at liberty to proceed to Boulogne, to organize his army and his flotilla for the invasion of England, he certainly lost no time in repairing thither. The style in which he was received, the magnitude of the force assembled at this spot, together with the spectators, rendered the whole extremely interesting; we, therefore, insert the following amusing account of the festival which took place on that occasion, as inserted in the *Moniteur*.

“ Seated on the throne of one of the kings of the first race, the Emperor had immediately on his right Prince Joseph, and behind him the great officers of the crown; on each side the ministers, marshals of the empire, and colonels-general; in front and on the steps were his Majesty’s *aides-de-camps*; and on the benches at the foot of the throne, on the right, the counsellors of state, the generals arrived from the interior, and foreign officers;

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\* Napoleon informed Las Cases that, upon his return from being crowned King of Italy, when in the environs of Lyons, the multitude flocked to behold him in all directions, upon which the idea struck him that he would ascend alone and on foot the mountain of Tarare. The Emperor had issued strict commands that no one should follow him; and, having mingled with the crowd, addressed himself to an old woman, inquiring the reason of the assemblage of such a concourse of people; to which she replied that the Emperor would shortly pass that way. After having said a few words of a political tendency, he then continued:—“ But, my good woman, you formerly had the tyrant *Capet*, and now you have the tyrant *Napoleon*, how, in the name of heaven, have you profited by the change?” “ The force of this remark,” continued Napoleon, “ staggered the old dame for a moment, who at length replied as follows:—‘ Pardon me, sir; after all, there is a great difference; we have chosen the latter ourselves, whereas the former was placed over us by mere chance.’ The old lady was in the right,” added Bonaparte, “ and she displayed in those few words more instinct and wisdom than many others who possessed refined education and a fund of strong natural sense.”

and on the left the civil and religious functionaries. The remainder of the space in the middle was occupied by the Imperial Guard, the musicians on one side, and two thousand drummers on the other; at its extremities were the grand staff of the army and the general staff-officers of the camps. The Emperor beheld on his right the two camps and the batteries, the entrance of the port, and a part of the roads, and on his left he had a view of the port of Vimereux and the coasts of England. In front advanced sixty battalions, formed in twenty columns, the heads of them occupying half the circumference of the circle. In front and in the interior, still nearer the throne, were platoons of legionaries of all ranks and of the different branches of the service. The extremities of the columns advanced towards the heights, which were occupied by twenty squadrons in battle array, and completely covered with an immense crowd of spectators and the tents appointed for the ladies.

“ Never was there a disposition more simple, nor one which presented a more imposing aspect. But every thing announced that the tempest which had prevailed on that part of the coast for eight-and-forty hours would also disturb the enjoyment of the splendid day. The south-west wind accumulated dark clouds and agitated the waves. The English cruisers had retired, and appeared only through the haze of the horizon. At noon the Emperor left his hut, and a salute from all the batteries of the coast announced his arrival. That instant the sun illumined the ceremony, and no more wind blew than was sufficient to make the colours wave.

“ On the appearance of the Emperor the drums began to beat, and shouts of joy, on the part of the army and the spectators, marked his presence and the enthusiasm which it excited. They then beat a charge, and the different columns instantly closed their ranks, which fine movement electrified all the heroes with military ardour.

“ The Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour

pronounced a discourse; and, after a roll of the drums, his Majesty recited the oath, when all the legionaries exclaimed, *We swear it!* and, from a spontaneous impulse, the whole army repeated this vow of fidelity and attachment, and cries of *Long live the Emperor!* resounded amidst all ranks, who brandished their arms and waved their colours, expressive of their joy. The great dignitaries, the commandants, the officers, and the legionaries, then approached the throne, where, being presented by the Minister-at-War, they individually received from his Majesty's hands the decoration of the eagle.

" It was delightful to behold the marshals of the empire, the generals, the counsellors of state, the prefects, bishops, officers, soldiers, and sailors, receiving, each in his turn, the reward of honour from the hands of Bonaparte, who, recognising every one, received him as the companion of his toils and his glory. These decorations were held up by several officers, in the helmets and bucklers of the armours of Duguesclin and Bayard.

" One trait was wanting to complete this magnificent picture. The flotilla could not go out; but the star of the Emperor conducted one, as if for the express purpose, from Havre. All eyes were turned towards the sea, and the most lively joy was manifested on beholding the ocean pay its tribute to the entertainment of the Emperor, since that convoy, which had been expected for six days, arrived at the moment of the solemnity.

" It was now four o'clock; the wind freshened, and the billows rose. After the flotilla entered, four boats and five pinnaces, which had cleared the Channel, went a-ground on the sand-bank under the wooden fort; they, however, received no damage, and next tide were floated off and brought into harbour.

" The Emperor passed the evening in his hut; and all the legionaries were entertained at the tables of Prince Joseph, the Minister-at-War, the Minister of the Marine, Marshal Soult, and Admiral Bruix, in tents decorated in



a military style, when the health of the Emperor was drank with enthusiasm, amidst the report of all the artillery of the batteries on the coast."

About this time it was said by the French—"All that belongs to England is finally threatened by 1,500 vessels, which compose our flotilla, with sixty ships of the line, and a valiant army, commanded by the first generals in the world." The French, also, made no secret of their means for transporting 200,000 men to the English shores in the course of a night. However, from these enormous preparations, it is clear Bonaparte was very suddenly summoned, even while at Boulogne, where, it is probable, he received such information respecting the Emperor of Austria, as induced him to leave the coast without delay. Soon after, instead of passing the Channel, he prepared for traversing the Rhine, to which boundary it appeared the Austrian troops were fast approaching; or, as an historian of that day expressed it, with respect to Bonaparte, having satisfied himself as to the efficiency and excellent appointment of this vast body of troops, as no less than 115,000 disciplined soldiers, without counting upon the cavalry or artillery, were assembled on his coast, he again proceeded to Paris, where the threatening aspect of affairs required his immediate presence. In our next we shall take a retrospective view of the negotiations between England, on one side, and Austria and Russia on the other, which led to this grand continental rupture.

# CHAP. XIV.

*The Camp at Boulogne broken up, and the Army marched to oppose the Austrians and Russians in Germany—Talleyrand's Note to Count Cobentzel, previous to the above Determination on the Part of NAPOLEON—Exposé of the Emperor to the Conservative Senate of France—NAPOLEON quits Paris to join the Grand Army and March of the various Corps—His Proclamation to the Troops—Battles of Wertingen, Guntzburgh, Memmingen, and Elchingen, all of which were in favour of the French—BONAPARTE's Address to his Army on investing Ulm—Account of the Affair at the latter City—Capitulation of Ulm, signed by General Mack, when 30,000 Men laid down their Arms on the Glacis—A Campaign terminated in a few Days—Operations of Marshal Massena in Italy, against the Archduke Charles—Results of the Defeats sustained by the Austrians and Russians at Ulm—NAPOLEON proceeds to Munich—Disposition of his Army—The French pass the Inn, near Brannau—The Imperialists and Russians retreat towards Vienna—The Emperor of Austria's Proclamation to his Subjects—Salzburg, Lintz, and the Ems abandoned—At Amstettin the Russians make a Stand and are defeated—An Armistice proposed by Count Giulay, but refused by NAPOLEON—Affair of Marienzell—Proclamations of the Emperor Francis disregarded by his Subjects—The French enter Vienna without further Opposition, and quiet Behaviour of the Troops—Part of the Army advances towards Moravia—Bravery of 5000 French opposed to 20,000 Russians at Stein—The Emperor of Austria proceeds from Brunn to Olmutz—Another Proclamation issued by Francis—Russians attacked and pursued, with the Events that preceded the Affair of Austerlitz.*

WE have now to recur to the more immediate causes of the breaking up of the camps on the sea-coast, for the purpose of transferring them to those of the Rhine, the

Inn, and the Danube. From the tenor of several of the official papers, that had appeared in the course of 1804, on the parts of Austria and Russia, it might well have been expected, that fresh efforts would be made to assist the English and renew the war. In consequence of these preliminary steps, so early as the 11th of April, a treaty between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia was signed at Petersburg; by virtue of which, after observing, that the state of suffering, in which Europe was placed, demanded some speedy remedy, the contracting parties mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop to the existing state of things, without waiting for further encroachments on the part of the French government. They, in consequence, agreed to employ the most prompt and efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe; and, in order to accomplish such end, proposed to collect together a force which, independent of the succours furnished by his Britannic Majesty, might amount to 500,000 effective men, who were to be employed with energy: either to induce or compel the French government to consent to the re-establishment of peace, and the balance of power in Europe.

The objects proposed to be obtained by this league were the evacuation of the Hanoverian territory, and the north of Germany:

A guarantee for the independence of the Republics of Holland and Switzerland:

The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as much territory as circumstances would permit:

The security of the kingdom of Naples, and complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces, and the establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

His Britannic Majesty engaged to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as vessels for transporting troops in the general plan of operations; and to assist the different powers by subsidies, which should correspond with the amount of the respective forces employed.

It was mutually agreed that, in the event of this league being formed, the parties should not make peace with France, except by common consent.

Sweden and Austria had already entered into these views, though they had not as yet manifested any intention of proceeding to hostilities before they had tried the effect of negotiation: for which purpose Baron Novosiltzoff set forwards for Paris to negotiate, and had gained Berlin, when the intelligence of the annexation of Genoa to the French Empire arrived at that city: this step was supposed to be of sufficient importance to put a stop to all further proceedings, short of hostilities; for, as it seems that the Baron applied to his court for instructions, the result was, his recal. Previous, however, to his departure, he addressed a note to Baron Hardenberg, dated July 10, 1805, which was communicated to the latter, through the medium of M. la Foret, the French resident at Berlin. This note fully explained the cause of the interruption of the Baron's mission.

These measures being looked upon as a signal for Austria to declare herself a member of this new confederacy, a treaty to that effect was signed, on the 9th of August, by the Austrian plenipotentiary at Petersburg.

About the same period, a note was presented by the Austrian ambassador at Paris, announcing that the anxious desire of his government to promote a general pacification had only been interrupted by the changes recently made in the condition of the republics of Genoa and Lucca. But, though war was predetermined on the part of Austria, the minister urged the renewal of measures of conciliation, in which the court of Vienna again

offered her most earnest assistance. To the sophistry and political finesse resorted to on that occasion, a note from M. Talleyrand\* was certainly the best reply; not only

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\* As this first note of M. Talleyrand was of some length, we insert only the leading features, the instrument in question having been delivered, on the 13th of August, 1804, to Count Philip Cobentzel.

"The undersigned has hastened, on the termination of the conference which he has had the honour of holding with Count de Cobentzel, to transmit to Boulogne the declaration delivered to him by his Excellency, (alluding to the Austrian declaration of the 5th of August,) and he has received orders from the Emperor and King to return the following answer:—The Emperor could not fail to be sensibly affected by the tone of moderation manifested in the aforesaid document, and the readiness of the Emperor of Germany to hasten, by his friendly offices, the termination of the evils caused by the war to the French empire. If, however, such interpositions cannot be employed with advantage, or the compromising the dignity of the mediator, that alone would be decisive with his majesty, were it even possible to forget how the cabinets of London and St. Petersburg answered his most noble and magnanimous behaviour, in repelling such amicable adjustments on the part of Austria. M. de Novosiltzoff was repairing to France without the Emperor's knowing his intentions, and the King of Prussia had required passports, for that chamberlain, of the Emperor of Russia, which were immediately granted. Yet what benefit has his Majesty derived from that extraordinary concession? An offensive note, replete with false assertions, was the sole result of a mission, which the Emperor had neither occasioned nor required. Being thus attacked in his honour, it is no longer possible for him to require or expect any thing of Russia, whose behaviour is unveiled, while, for a twelvemonth past, the Emperor has received nothing but insults from the Russian cabinet. It belongs to the Emperor Alexander to judge, whether he will persist in adhering to foreign influence, or return to more moderate, just, and wise sentiments. As to England, his Majesty made an attempt, eight months ago, to incline her to peace; but from the answer returned by the British cabinet, it was clear that all hope of an amicable adjustment was extinct, that power being resolved on setting the continent in flames, and covering Italy with blood and carnage. The cabinet of Vienna is too enlightened not to perceive this, from the pressing solicitations, and offers of subsidies, with which she has constantly been besieged by England, to induce it to take up arms. It cannot, therefore, be hoped that the power in question will listen to the advice of moderation and justice. It would even be useless to address her on the subject of personal interest, since blind passions induce it to mistake them. England knows, and has declared, that Russia alone cannot afford her the requisite assistance, and that a diversion will be of no use, so long as Prussia and Austria do not co-operate. Prussia has uniformly declared, she will not enter into any hostile project against France. Let the Emperor of Austria make the same declaration, and England will immediately see the necessity of return-

because it related to circumstances of diplomatic duplicity; but because the results of this conduct, on the part of the allies, were therein anticipated in that masterly manner which was the general lot of almost every state paper, published on the part of France, from the very first æra of the two unfortunate wars.

By this note it appears, as well as from the slight pretext that occasioned the return of Novosiltzoff, that his repairing to negotiate was only a political manœuvre, probably to gain time. Contrary, however, to the adoption of a rational system, the lapse of a few days made it evident to the French government, that, as all hopes of convincing Austria of her mistaken policy were vain, it was necessary to acquaint her that the French Emperor was neither ignorant of the force Germany was preparing, nor fearful of the consequences that might arise. In a second note from M. Talleyrand, delivered on the 16th of

ing to the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. If, on the other hand, Austria, by indecisive measures, leaves a doubtful opinion; she authorises the assertions of the English ministry, that she belongs to a coalition, and by continuing to keep 72,000 men in Italy, the Emperor of France must believe that she thinks the moment favourable for resuming hostilities. The Emperor of the French now sees preparations making in Poland and in Italy; even the very places where they are carrying on, demonstrate the whole to result from a preconcerted agreement, and point out against whom they are intended. The undersigned begs to ask Count Cobentzel, what the Emperor of Germany would do, if he were placed in the situation of the French Emperor? May Austria issue the same ultimatum as Prussia, and confirm such declaration by reducing her whole force to a peace establishment. In such case amity must be the desire and hope of England; and the treaty of Amiens will thus be restored before the month of January. The crowns of France and Italy will then be separated for ever: Europe enjoy tranquillity, the result of the wisdom of Austria; whereas, by an opposite line of conduct, Europe must be involved in a situation, which neither the cabinets of the Tuileries or Vienna can either calculate or foresee.

"The undersigned can have no doubt but his Excellency Count Cobentzel will duly appreciate the value of the subjects discussed in the present note, and contribute, by his influence, to have them considered in such a point of view, &c.

(Signed)

"C. M. TALLEYRAND."

August, he acquainted Count Cobentzel with every thing that England then wished to hear.—“ His Majesty,” said he, “ entirely occupied with the war which England has raised, since he has given Austria no cause of complaint, hoped she would preserve the strictest and most impartial neutrality ; but the movements of troops, and the other hostile dispositions in the Hereditary States, at which Europe is either uneasy or astonished, compel his Majesty to demand, not only a categorical explanation, but a most speedy one. The repeated accounts which the Emperor receives from all quarters *compel him to postpone his projects against England*, and thus Austria has done as much as if she had commenced hostilities, since she has made the most powerful diversion in favour of England.”

As Russia had evidently become a party in this new plan of hostility, grounded upon the aggrandizement of France, Germany, and Italy ; and as this, also, formed an outline in the Russian notes, &c. it was incumbent on the French government to reply to those suggestions.—In answer, therefore, to the note addressed to the court of Berlin, by M. Novosiltzoff, the former power complained of its being unseasonably published in the German journals : that it contained false assertions ; that the Emperor of the French had long observed, in silence, the progress of Russia towards the south of Asia ; and contemplated, with just uneasiness, the danger that threatened Persia and Turkey, the latter of which countries was the sole barrier between the continent and Russia. It was further added that Russia took no sincere part in the interests of the continent ; but interfered in political storms, only to increase hatred and inflame passion. That all recrimination, therefore, on the part of Russia, the Emperor viewed as a mere pretext, without any foundation in truth ; that France had broken off no negotiation ; since passports merely solicited and obtained, did not really constitute a negotiation ; that France had said nothing—Russia having alone made a demonstration ; viz. a feint,

demanding that one of her agents should be heard, and that such agent had been abruptly withdrawn!

The representations of the French Emperor did not terminate there; they also formed the basis of an *exposé*; which was read, by the minister of Foreign Affairs, in the Conservative Senate of France, on the 23d of September, 1805, wherein the infamy of the war was again wholly imputed to England; and, on the same day, the Emperor Napoleon, addressing the Senate, said, he felt it an urgent duty imposed upon him to appear among them, in order fully to explain his sentiments. "I am," said he, "just leaving the capital, to place myself at the head of the army, in order to carry speedy succour to my allies. I tremble at the idea of the blood that must be spilt in Europe, but the French name shall emerge with renovated and increased lustre. All promises I have hitherto made to the French people have been fulfilled, and they, in turn, have more than performed every engagement made towards me. They will, consequently, at a moment so important for their glory and mine, persist in asserting the title of the *Great Nation*, a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and glory." Napoleon then concluded in these words: "Frenchmen! your Emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers and the senate will also accomplish theirs." It is scarcely too much to assert, that no monarch or general was ever better seconded in the field, than Napoleon after, as well as previous, to that declaration. Such effectual aid was quite contrary to the expectation of the English and their allies, who had vainly imagined that the French would be disheartened at the prospect of a fresh contest, and such a formidable coalition as the united forces of Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, and Austria, must have presented.

The Emperor left Paris on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasburgh on the 26th. Marshal Bernadotte, at the moment when the army set out from Boulogne, had



advanced from Hanover towards Gottingen, then marched by Frankfort for Wurtzburgh, where he arrived on the 23d of September.—General Marmont, having gained Mentz, passed the Rhine by the bridge of Cassel, and advanced to Wurtzburgh, where he formed a junction with the Bavarian army, and the corps under Marshal Bernadotte.—The corps under Marshal Davoust passed the Rhine on the 26th at Manheim, and marched by Heidelburgh and Necker-Eltz, on the Necker.—The corps under Marshal Soult passed that stream on the same day, over the bridge which had been constructed at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbronn.—Marshal Ney's division passed the Rhine the same day, by means of a flying bridge, opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard.—The corps under Marshal Lannes passed that river, on the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburgh.—Prince Murat, with the cavalry of reserve, traversed the Rhine at the same place, and on the same day, and remained for some time at a position before the defiles of the Black Forest. *His* patroles, which often showed themselves to those of the enemy, induced the latter to believe that it was the Emperor's intention to penetrate by those defiles.—The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 30th of September, and advanced towards Heilbronn. Napoleon passed the Rhine on the 1st of October, at Kehl, slept at Ettlingen, the same evening, received there the Elector and Princes of Baden, and went to Louisburgh to the Elector of Wurtemberg, in which palace he took up his abode.—On the 2d, the divisions of Marshal Bernadotte, General Marmont, and the Bavarians, who were at Wurtzburgh, formed a junction, and began their march for the Danube.—The corps of Marshal Davoust proceeded from Necker-Eltz, by the route of Meckmuhl, Ingelfingen, Chreilshem, Dunkelsbuhl, Frembdingen, Oettingen, Haarburch, and Donauwerth.—The corps of Marshal Soult marched from Heilbronn and followed the route

of Ochringen, Hall, Gaildorf, Abslsmund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. The corps of Marshal Ney proceeded from Stuttgard, following the route of Erslingen, Goppingen, Weissentein, Heydenheim, Natlkeim, and Nordlingen, while that of Marshal Lannes marched from Louisburgh, taking the road from Gross-Beutelspach to Pluderhausen, Gemund, Aalen, and Nordlingen.—The following was the position of the army on the 6th instant: The corps of Marshal Bernadotte, and the Bavarians, were at Weissenburgh. The corps of Davoust at Oettingen, and on the Banks of the Rednitz. That of Marshal Soult at Donauwerth, in possession of the bridge of Munster, and repairing that of Donauwerth. The corps of Marshal Ney was at Kœffingen, that of Lannes at Neresheim, while Prince Murat, with his dragoons, was stationed on the Banks of the Danube.—The men were in perfect health, and burning with desire to engage the enemy.

At this period the following proclamation was issued by Napoleon to his troops :

“ SOLDIERS !

“ The war of the third coalition is commenced : the Austrian army has passed the Inn, violated treaties, and attacked and driven our Ally from his capital.—You, yourselves, have been compelled to advance, by forced marches, to the defence of our frontiers. Already have you passed the Rhine. We will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee.—Our policy shall no more give way to our generosity. Soldiers ! your Emperor is in the midst of you : you are only the advanced guard of a great people. If it should be necessary, France will all rise at my voice, to confound and dissolve this new league, which has been formed by the hatred and gold of England. Yet, soldiers, we shall have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will over-

come them, and take no rest till we have planted our eagles on the territory of our enemies.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON," &c.

The Austrian army, consisting of nearly 90,000 men, under General Mack, had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, apparently with the intention of preventing the French army from penetrating those defiles. They had thrown up fortifications on the river Iller, and were strengthening Memmingen and Ulm; but all these precautionary measures were of little avail, as the French armies had taken another route, which the Austrians never suspected, and were already in their rear. It seems that a division, belonging to Marshal Soult, had, by means of a forced march, got possession of a bridge at Donawert, defended by the Austrian regiment of Colerode, with the loss of only a few men. By day-break the next morning Murat arrived there also with the French cavalry; and, having passed the bridge, caused it to be repaired; when, in conjunction with the rest of the cavalry, under General Walther, he traversed the stream, and advanced towards the Lech, where he forced the enemy, there posted, to retreat, Murat remaining that night at Rain. On the 6th, Marshal Soult, with the two divisions of Generals Vandamme and Legrand, marched towards Augsburg, while General St. Hilaire, with his division, also advanced to that point, by the left bank of the Danube. On the same morning, Prince Murat, at the head of several divisions of cavalry, arrived at Wertingen, in order to cut off the communication between Ulm and Augsburg; there he encountered a considerable body of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Alber's cuirassiers. Marshal Lannes, who, with Oudinot's division, had followed these corps, succeeded in defeating and making a part of this portion of the Austrian army prisoners, together with their artillery and baggage. The Austrians, on that occasion, lost eight

standards, the whole of their cannon, a number of officers, and 4,000 men.

On the same day intelligence was received that Marshal Davoust's corps had arrived at Newburg, while that of Marmont, with the Bavarians, advanced to Eichstätt. Marshal Soult, after having put to flight a body of Austrians, which had fallen back upon Aicha, entered Augsburg on the 7th, with the divisions of Vandamme, St. Hilaire, and Le Grand. Davoust, who had passed the Danube at Newburg, also arrived at Aicha with his divisions on the evening of the 9th. The Dutch troops, under General Dumonceau, had taken post between Aicha and Augsburg. Bernadotte, with the Bavarians, under Generals De Roy and Verden, had taken possession of Ingoldstadt; and the Imperial Guard, under Marshal Bessieres, and Hantpolt's cuirassiers, arrived at Augsburg. By this time, also, Murat's cavalry had occupied the village of Zimmerhausen, to intercept the road from Augsburg to Ulm. Marshal Lannes, with the divisions of Oudinot and Suchet, took post, on the same day, at that village, where the French Emperor reviewed the troops, and expressed his satisfaction at their behaviour in the affair of Wertingen; he also bestowed marks of honour upon two dragoons, who had particularly distinguished themselves.\*

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\* This circumstance is detailed in the third bulletin, dated the 10th October, 1805, in the following words:—"The Emperor passed in review the dragoons of Zimmerhausen, when he ordered to be brought before him a dragoon, named Martete, of the 4th regiment, one of the gallant soldiers who, in the passage of the Lech, had saved his captain, who, but a few days before, had cashiered him from his rank, when his Majesty bestowed upon him the Eagle of the Legion of Honour; upon which the soldier observed, 'I have only done my duty; my captain degraded me on account of some violation of discipline, but he knows that I have always proved a good soldier.' The emperor next expressed his satisfaction to the dragoons for the conduct they had displayed at the battle of Wertingen. He ordered each regiment to present to him a dragoon, on whom he also bestowed the Eagle of the Legion of Honour. His Majesty ex-

The action at Wertingen was soon followed by one at Guntzburg; where Marshal Ney, with several divisions, and the dismounted dragoons of Barraguay d'Hilliers, having re-ascended the Danube, attacked the enemy, first in their position at Grunberg, and afterwards succeeded in passing the river at Guntzburg, notwithstanding a gallant resistance on the part of the Austrians, who had advanced from Ulm to that place, with the view of collecting a sufficient force to act upon the offensive. With this body they occupied Guntzburg, its right wing resting upon the village of Limpach and its left on the Kaiserberg. The Austrians were also in possession of the bridges on the Danube as far as Leipheim, which the French, however, attacked, who found they were defended with obstinacy. Of the first bridge the assailants made themselves masters, being that of Guntzburg, and the causeway leading thereto. The Archduke Ferdinand made a brave attempt to defend the post, but was finally forced to abandon it, and retreat to Ulm, with the loss of some thousands of men, and the greater part of his cannon. On the other hand, it was stated that the French suffered considerably from the grape-shot of the enemy, though they were amply recompensed by obtaining possession of a fine military position. During these transactions the centre of the French army passed the Danube at Donawert, and the left wing still lower down, at Ingoldstadt. The latter afterwards took post at Pfefferhansen, on the road to Munich, under Marshal Bernadotte, while the main body proceeded across the river Lech towards Augsburg, which city then became the French head quarters. By this succession of bold and rapid movements the whole of the French army had now placed itself between Vienna and the Austrian General Mack; and, flushed with these auspicious presages of

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pressed his satisfaction to the grenadiers of General Oudinot's division, than which a finer or more enthusiastic corps could not possibly exist."

good fortune, those that followed will be viewed with less astonishment.

The French approaching Ulm on all sides, on the 10th of October, the enemy made a sortie from that city, and attacked the division of General Dupont. The battle, the French official paper stated, was most obstinate.—“Surrounded by twenty-five thousand men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took 1500 prisoners! This corps,” it was added, “should not be astonished at any thing.”

On the 13th, the Emperor went in person to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. The first operation was to take possession of the bridge and position of Elchingen: he then took up his head-quarters at the abbey of that place, and, on the 15th, at day-break, appeared in person before Ulm; after which Murat's corps and that of Marshal Lannes put themselves in order of battle, to assault and force the enemy's intrenchments before that city. The weather was dreadful; the troops were up to their knees in mud: the Emperor had not taken off his boots for the preceding eight days!

Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken, with a considerable quantity of cannon. On the same day it was announced in the bulletin that, since the commencement of the campaign, the French had captured 20,000 prisoners, taken 30 pieces of cannon, and 20 standards, with very small loss on their part. “If to the deaths,” say those accounts, “the desertions are to be added, the Austrian army is already reduced to one half!”

It should be remarked that, in consequence of the preceding movements made by the French armies, the neutrality of Prussia was manifestly violated, as they had not only passed through the territory of Anspach and Bayreuth, but occupied those countries. This was a step

next to morally impossible for the Austrians to have foreseen, and that movement, also, by shortening the route of the French army, gave it incalculable advantages. In the meanwhile the Archduke Ferdinand had no alternative left but that of sharing the fate of Mack and the rest of the Austrians shut up in Ulm, or of endeavouring to force his way to Bohemia through Franconia with 25,000 men, where he boldly attempted the latter, crossed the Danube and advanced to Nordlingen, at which place one whole division, amounting to about 12,000 men, was obliged to lay down its arms. The French pursued those advantages, and again fell in with the remains of the Archduke's corps between Traun and Nuremberg, where they made more prisoners, and took the Austrian artillery: they then desisted from the pursuit, and the Archduke made good the rest of his retreat with the wreck of his forces, consisting for the most part of cavalry.

It may now be proper to return to the situation of Ulm: which city was so completely invested that no possibility was left for General Mack to escape, except by forcing a passage through an army four times superior to his own; and such a measure was too dangerous to attempt. Bonaparte had, however, prepared the minds of his soldiers for much greater resistance, as, on the evening before the surrender of that city, he issued the following striking

#### ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

“Soldiers! A month ago we were encamped on the shores of the ocean opposite to England, but an impious league compelled us to fly towards the Rhine.

“It is but a fortnight since we passed that river; and the Alps of Wirtemberg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech, those celebrated barriers of Germany, have not retarded our march a day, an hour, or an instant!—Indignation against a prince whom we have twice re-seated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleasure to hurl him from his seat, supplied us with wings.

The enemy's army, deceived by our manœuvres and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned ; it now fights only for its safety ; it would gladly embrace any opportunity of escaping and returning home ; but it is too late. The fortifications which it erected, at an immense expense, along the Iller, expecting that we should advance through the passes of the Black Forest, are become useless, since we have approached by the plains of Bavaria.

“ Soldiers ! But for the army which is now in front of you, we should this day have been in London : we should have avenged ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas !

“ But bear in mind to-morrow that you are fighting against the allies of England ; that you have to avenge yourselves on a perjured prince, whose own letters breathed nothing but peace at the moment when he was marching his army against our ally ; who thought us cowardly enough to suppose that we should tamely witness his passage of the Inn, his entry into Munich, and his aggression upon the Elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elsewhere ; let him, for the third and last time, learn that we know how to be present in every place where our country has enemies to combat.

“ Soldiers ! To-morrow will be a hundred times more celebrated than the day of Marengo—I have placed the enemy in the same position.

“ Recollect that the most remote posterity will remark the conduct of each of you on this memorable occasion ! Your progeny, five hundred years hence, who may place themselves under those Eagles, around which we rally, will know, in detail, every thing that your respective corps shall achieve to-morrow, and the manner in which your courage shall confer on them eternal celebrity.—This will constitute the perpetual subject of their conversation, and from age to age you will be held up to the admiration of future generations.



“Soldiers! If I wished only to conquer the enemy, I should not have thought it necessary to make an appeal to your courage, and your attachment to the country and to my person; but merely to conquer him is doing nothing worthy either of you or your Emperor. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy’s army shall escape; that that government, which has violated all its engagements, shall first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna; and that, on receiving that fatal intelligence, its conscience (if it listens to the voice of conscience) shall tell it; that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of those duties bequeathed by its ancestors; the power of forming the rampart of Europe against the eruptions of the Cossacs.

“Soldiers, who have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Guntzburg! I am satisfied with your conduct; every corps in the army will emulate you; and I shall be able to say to my people—‘Your Emperor and your army have done their duty; perform yours:’ and the two hundred thousand conscripts, whom I have summoned, will hasten, by forced marches, to reinforce our second line.

(Signed)

“NAPOLÉON.”

As we cannot possibly relate the affair of Ulm with more brevity than that of the French bulletins, we shall make extracts from a few of those documents, and occasionally, add such information as we have derived from other quarters.

“The day of Ulm was one of the most brilliant in the annals of France. The Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but twenty thousand men, defended by fortifications and wet ditches, would have made a resistance, and his desire was to save the effusion of blood. General Mack, Commander-in-Chief of the army, was in the town: it is the fate of generals opposed to the Emperor to be taken in fortified places. It will be recollect-

ed, that, after the brilliant movements on the Brenta, old Field-marshal Wurmser was made prisoner in Mantua; Melas was captured at Alexandria; and Mack at Ulm! The German army was one of the finest Austria had ever displayed: it consisted of fourteen regiments of infantry, of the army of Bavaria, as it is called; thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five regiments which had been sent in waggons from Italy: altogether, thirty-two regiments of infantry and fifteen of cavalry.

“The Emperor had reduced the army of Prince Ferdinand to the same situation in which he placed that of Melas. After having long hesitated, the latter adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack took another resolution: Ulm is the point of union of a great number of high roads; he had formed the plan of making his divisions retreat by those routes, to re-assemble them in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck marched off by Heydenheim. A small division retreated by Memmingen; but the Emperor, on the 12th, hastened from Ausburgh to Ulm, immediately disconcerted the projects of the enemy, and ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered everything secure.

“As the Emperor was passing through a crowd of prisoners, an Austrian colonel expressed his astonishment on beholding the Emperor of the French, wet, covered with dirt, and more fatigued than the meanest drummer in his army. One of his aids-de-camp having explained to him what the Austrian officer said, Napoleon ordered this answer to be made, ‘Your Master wished to make me recollect that I was a soldier; I hope he will allow that the throne and the imperial purple have not made me forget my first profession.’

“The appearance of the troops on the 15th was most interesting. For two days the rain had fallen in torrents; the whole army was dripping wet; the soldiers had no

provisions distributed to them; and were up to their knees in mud! But the Emperor infused fresh spirits into his followers; and, at the moment he perceived whole columns in this state, he ordered 'Long live the Emperor!' to be cried.

"It is also mentioned, that Bonaparte replied to the officers who surrounded him, and who expressed their surprise, how, in a moment of such distress, the soldiers could forget all their wants, and appear only sensible to the pleasure of seeing him—'They are in the right; it is to spare their blood that I make them undergo such dreadful fatigue.'

"The Emperor, when the army occupied the heights which command Ulm, sent for Prince Lichtenstein, Major-general, who was shut up in the town, to communicate to him, that he wished the place would capitulate; telling him, that, if he took it by storm, he should be under the necessity of *acting as he had done at Jaffa*, where the whole garrison was put to the sword; that it was one of the melancholy rights of war, and he wished that both himself and the brave Austrian nation were spared the necessity of so dreadful an action; that the place was not tenable; and that it ought, therefore, to yield." The Prince required that the officers and soldiers should have liberty to return to Austria.—"I will grant it," replied the Emperor, "to the officers, but not to the soldiers; for who will be my security that they will not be made to serve again?" Then, after having hesitated for a moment, he added: "Well, then, I will rely upon the word of Prince Ferdinand. If he is in the town, I wish to give him a proof of my esteem, and I will grant to him what you require of me, hoping that the Court of Vienna will not break the word of one of its princes." Upon M. de Lichtenstein assuring him that Prince Ferdinand was not in the town, "Then," said the Emperor, "I do not see who is to be my guarantee, that the soldiers I send you back will not be employed again."

" On the 15th, Marshal Bernadotte having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the high road of Brannau, took four or five hundred prisoners, and 17 pieces of cannon, of different sizes; having thus captured, since his entry to Munich, 1,500 prisoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 200 horses, and a quantity of baggage, *without the loss of a single man!*

" The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube on the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech the same day, at half past three; when his troops entered Munich on the 12th; while his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th; and on the same day he was master of Memmingen, and on the 17th of Ulm.

" Napoleon took from the enemy, at the battles of Wertingen, Guntzburgh, Elchingen, as well as the conflicts of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albreck, Langenau, and Neresheim, 40,000 infantry and cavalry; more than 40 stand of colours; a vast number of cannon, baggage-waggons, &c.; to accomplish which, only marches and manœuvres were employed!

In these partial actions the loss of the French army amounted to no more than 500 killed and 1,000 wounded. It was a common remark among the troops, that "The Emperor has found out a new method of making war—he only orders us to use our legs instead of our bayonets." Five-sixths of the soldiers never fired a shot, which greatly mortified them; but they all marched incessantly, and redoubled their activity when they had hopes of overtaking the enemy.

" The eulogy of the army may be condensed in few words—it is worthy of its chief.

" The Austrians may be considered as annihilated. The Germans and Russians will be obliged to make many levies of recruits to resist the French army, which has destroyed a force of 100,000 men, without experiencing, we may say, any loss!"

Thus, it appears, that Ulm was obliged to capitulate, as General Mack did not take long to deliberate after the summons had been sent him to surrender that place.\* Accordingly, on the 17th of October, he agreed to give up the city, with all its artillery and magazines, and that the garrison, of about 30,000 men, after marching out with all the honours of war, should lay down its arms; the field-officers to be allowed to return to Austria upon their parole, but the subalterns and soldiers to be sent prisoners into France, there to remain until exchanged. It was stipulated, however, that the Austrian General, Mack, should be allowed the interval up to the 25th, at twelve o'clock, before which he was not to be required to carry the capitulation into effect; and then, if an Austrian or Russian army should arrive in sufficient force to raise the blockade of Ulm, or before twelve at midnight on the 25th, the garrison, and the commandant, should be entirely released from the terms of such capitulation.

Impatient at the delay which those terms would have produced, and eager to lose no time in making head against the Austrians and Russians, collecting on the Inn, Bonaparte invited General Mack to an interview on the 19th: the result of which was, that Mack, on the assurance of the French Marshal, Berthier, that no succour could possibly arrive before Ulm, signed an additional article; by which he agreed to evacuate the place, and surrender the army on the ensuing day, the 20th, on condition that the corps commanded by Marshal Ney, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four of cavalry, should not advance beyond ten leagues from Ulm

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\* The person deputed by Napoleon to offer terms of capitulation to General Mack, was General Count Rapp, who, in the 6th chap. of his Memoirs, at page 26, &c. gives a detailed account of the two interviews which took place upon that occasion;—which, owing to their length, we are prevented from laying before our readers, notwithstanding the interesting particulars they contain.

and its environs, before the 25th at midnight, the period when the former capitulation was to have expired !\*

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\* *The following were the Terms of the Capitulations of Ulm, occupied by the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, to the army of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy.*

We, Alexander Berthier, Marshal of the empire, and Field Marshal Baron Mack, &c. have agreed upon the following articles :

ART. I. The city of Ulm shall be surrendered to the French army, with all the magazines and artillery.—The half of the field of artillery shall be retained by the Austrian troops—Refused.

ART. II. The garrison shall march out, with all the honours of war, and, after filing off, lay down its arms. The field officers shall be sent, on their parole of honour, to Austria, and the soldiers and subalterns shall be sent into France, where they shall remain until they are exchanged.—Refused.

ART. III. The officers and soldiers shall retain all the effects belonging to them. Answer : And also the regimental chests.—Agreed to.

ART. IV. The sick and wounded Austrians shall be treated in the same manner as the French sick and wounded. Answer : We know the generosity of the French.

ART. V. If, nevertheless, there should appear by noon of the 25th October, 1805, an army capable of raising the blockade of Ulm, the garrison of that fortress shall in such case be released from the present capitulation, and at liberty to act as it may think fit. Answer : If the blockade of Ulm shall be raised by an Austrian or Russian army before midnight of the 25th of October, on whatever gate it shall happen to be, the garrisons shall freely depart with their arms, artillery and cavalry, to join the troops which may have raised the blockade. Agreed to.

ART. VI. One of the gates of Ulm (that of Stutgard) shall be given up to the French army, at seven o'clock to-morrow, as also quarters sufficient for the accommodation of one brigade. Answer : Yes.

ART. VII. That the French army shall be put in possession of the grand bridge over the Danube, and also have a free communication between both banks. Answer : The bridge is burnt down, but all possible means shall be taken to rebuild it.

ART. VIII. The service shall be regulated so as to prevent any disturbance, and to maintain the best understanding. Answer : The French and Austrian discipline afford the firmest guarantee in this respect.

ART. IX. All the cavalry, artillery, and waggon horses, belonging to the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, shall be given up to the French army.

ART. X. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 9th articles, shall not be carried into execution until it please the commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops ; provided, nevertheless, that the period of execution shall not be later than twelve at noon, of the 25th of October, 1805 :

Mack's conduct, in this latter proceeding, can only be accounted for either by folly or treachery ; but, whatever

and, if by that time, an army should make its appearance, in sufficient force to raise the blockade, the garrison shall, conformably to Art. V. be at liberty to act as it may think proper.—Executed in duplicate at Ulm, 17th October, 1805.

(Signed)

MARSHAL BERTHIER.  
LIEUT.-GEN. MACK.

*Additional articles of the capitulation of Ulm, proposed on the 19th.*

Marshal Berthier, Major-general of the French army, being empowered by the Emperor's command, gives his word of honour ; 1st. That the Austrian army is this day on the other side of the Inn, and that Marshal Bernadotte, with his army, has taken a position between Munich and the Inn. 2d. Marshal Lannes, with his corps, is pursuing Prince Ferdinand, and was yesterday at Aalen. 3d. That Prince Murat, with his corps, was yesterday at Nordlingen ; that the Lieutenant-generals Werneck, Baillet, Hohenzollern, and seven other generals, yesterday capitulated at the village of Troztelfigen. 4th. That Marshal Soult is posted between Ulm and Bregentz, observing the way to the Tyrol, and that there is, consequently, no possibility of succour arriving before Ulm. That Lieutenant-general and Quarter-master Mack, giving credit to the above declaration, is ready to evacuate Ulm to-morrow, on the following conditions :—That the whole corps of Marshal Ney, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four regiments of horse, shall not quit the city of Ulm and its environs, to the distances of ten leagues, before the 25th October at midnight, the period when the capitulation is to expire.—That Marshal Berthier and Baron Von Mack agree on the above inserted articles. Consequently, the whole Austrian army shall defile to-morrow, at three in the afternoon, before the Emperor of the French, with all the honours of war : it shall lay down its arms, and the officers, who reserve them, shall receive passports to go by the two roads of Kempten to Austria, and of Bregent to the Tyrol.—Executed in duplicate at Elchingen, the 19th October, 1805.

(Signed)

MARSHAL BERTHIER.  
LIEUT.-GEN. MACK,

In order to commemorate the great exploits performed by his army, Napoleon issued the following order, dated :

*Elchingen. From my Imperial Camp, 21st of October, 1805.  
Napoleon Emperor of the French and King of Italy.*

Considering that the grand army has obtained, by its courage and its devotion, results which could not be hoped for, but after a campaign ; and wishing to give it a proof of our imperial satisfaction, we have decreed, and decree as follows :

ART. I. The month Vendemiaire, year 14, shall be reckoned as a campaign, to all the individuals composing the grand army. This

were his motives, the Austrian garrison, in compliance with the new capitulation, marched out on the day following; and, after filing before the French Emperor, laid down its arms and surrendered prisoners of war. Napoleon, who had taken an advantageous station to behold this movement while the troops were retiring, addressed the officers to the following effect: "Gentlemen! your master wages an unjust war: I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting, I know not what can be required of me; my resources are not confined to the present army. These prisoners of war, now on their way to France, will observe the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standard. At a single word, 200,000 volunteers crowd to my colours, and, in six weeks, become soldiers; whereas, your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers till the expiration of several years. Let me advise my brother, the Emperor, to hasten the ratification of a peace. All states must have an end; and, in the present crisis, he must feel serious alarms, lest the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine should be at hand." The Emperor concluded by saying, "I desire nothing further upon the continent; I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

General Mack is reported to have stated, in reply, "That the Emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but had been compelled to that measure by Russia." "If such be the case," said Bonaparte, "you are no longer a power." Several other Austrian generals are stated to have expressed their dislike to a war which admitted a Russian army into the heart of their country, when the French Emperor treated those officers with civility; and,

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month shall be so charged to the state in the valuation of subsistence and military services.

ART. II. Our ministers of war, and of the public treasury, are charged with the execution of this decree.

NAPOLÉON.



to console them, observed, "That the chances of warfare were various, and that conquerors might be conquered in their turn."

By the adoption of a phrase, till then unknown among generals or historians, the exploits of a few days were denominated a *campaign*: the following address was also regarded as a complete novelty :

*Imperial head-quarters at Elchingen, October, 21.*

"Soldiers of the grand army ! In a fortnight we have finished a campaign : we have accomplished our purpose : we have expelled the troops of the house of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our Ally in the sovereignty of his states. That army, which, with equal ostentation and imprudence, had posted itself on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what does this signify to England ? her purpose is accomplished ; we are no longer at Boulogne, and the amount of her subsidy will thereby be neither encreased nor diminished.

"Of 100,000 men, who composed that army, 60,000 are prisoners ; they will go to take the place of our conscripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon (their whole park), ninety stands of colours, and all their generals are in our hands ; there have not escaped of this army 15,000 men. Soldiers ! I had announced to you a great battle ; but thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success without running any risk ; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force by more than 1,500 men !

"Soldiers ! You owe this success to your unbounded confidence in your Emperor ; to your patience in supporting fatigues and privations, of every description, and to your singular intrepidity.

"But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. We are about to make that Russian army, which the gold of England has trans-

ported from the extremities of the universe, undergo the same fate.

"In this contest is more particularly implicated the honour of the infantry: it is that which will, a second time, decide the question, already resolved in Switzerland and Holland—whether the French infantry be the second or the first in Europe? Here there are no generals in combating against whom, I can have any glory to acquire.—All my care shall be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood—my soldiers are my children.

"Given at my Imperial Camp, Elchingen, 29th Vendémiaire, 14th year, (21st of October, 1805.)"

Respecting the violation of the Prussian territory by the French, it does not seem that the Austrians were by any means tender on that subject, when they were closely pressed. The tenth bulletin gives the following account of its *violation* by the Austrian Duke Ferdinand.

"Immediately on the capitulation of General Werneck, near Nordlingen, Prince Ferdinand, with a body of 1,000 cavalry, and some artillery, had moved forwards, when he threw himself into the Prussian territory, and was proceeding by Gunzenhausen towards Nuremberg.—Prince Murat pursued him, without delay, and succeeded in overtaking him, upon which occasion an action ensued, on the road from Furth to Nuremberg on the evening of the 21st. The remainder of the park of artillery and the whole of the baggage were taken. The horse chasseurs of the imperial guard covered themselves with glory; they overthrew every thing that opposed them; they charged Mack's regiment of cuirassiers, while the two regiments of carabineers also sustained their reputation."

It is now necessary to advert to the proceedings of the army of Italy, under Marshal Massena, against the Archduke Charles, as the movements of the latter were

subsequently directed to support the cause of Austria in her own dominions.

Marshal Massena having been strongly reinforced, had to oppose a well-organized Austrian army, under its favourite commander. But there, as well as in Germany, no time was to be lost, as a combined force of Russians and British were collected at Corfu and Malta, for the purpose of making a descent upon Italy ; while another army, of Russians, Swedes, and English, was prepared in the North of Germany, to invade Hanover, or attempt other enterprises, as occasion might offer. The Archduke and General Massena being in the face of each other, on the opposite sides of the river Adige, waited only for the signal of attack ; and, on the 17th of October, the latter prepared to force the passage of that river ; his army amounting to 90,000 ; while the Austrians, under the Archduke, were estimated at 75,000 men. In consequence of the preparations made on the part of the French, early on the morning of the 18th, Massena caused two false attacks to be made, one on their right, the other on the left, while, with the centre of his army, he attempted to force the bridge of Verona, which was barricadoed, and some of its arches out. These impediments the French overcame with great fortitude, and twenty-four companies of light troops, selected from the divisions of Gardanne and Duhesme, traversed the river, who were soon followed by the whole division, and shortly after, by the residue of the army. The Austrians made a gallant resistance, but were obliged to retire to the heights, at some distance, where they had intrenchments ; there, however, the attack was renewed ; and, if the French gained any advantage, it was so inconsiderable, that they judged it expedient to recross the Adige and occupy their former ground. The Austrians lost seven pieces of cannon, eighteen waggons, and about 1,200 prisoners, while numbers were killed and wounded on both sides.

On the 20th, the French renewed the attack, and again passing the Adige, mounted and took possession of the heights of Val Pantena, surrounded the castle of San Felici, and compelled the Austrians to evacuate Venoretto; but advancing on the road of St. Michael, they met with serious opposition from the Austrians, though the latter were, at length, driven back with the loss of 1,500 prisoners and two pieces of cannon.

Hitherto it was thought Massena had been rather confined in his operations, not caring to advance too far before he received information of the state of the campaign in Germany; however, he took post within a few miles of Caldiero, near which the Archduke was strongly posted. Nothing material occurred for several days; when Massena, having received the account of the surrender of General Mack's army at Ulm, began to press forward with the utmost diligence, to execute the plans of co-operation which had been designed for him: accordingly, on the 30th of October, he commenced a very vigorous attack upon the whole line of the Archduke's army; General Mollitor formed the left, the centre was commanded by General Gardanne, and the right by General Duhesme. The action began upon the left, and the three successive attacks were bravely resisted by the Austrians, who were, at length, forced to retire to the adjacent heights, when the battle was renewed, and twenty-four battalions of grenadiers, with some other regiments, were ordered by the Archduke to advance against the enemy: both sides fought with great fury; the French cavalry, at length, made some impression by their repeated charges; the Austrian grenadiers fought with the bayonet, in which they were assisted by the fire of 30 pieces of cannon; notwithstanding which, they were, ultimately, driven from the field, with the loss of upwards 8,000 prisoners. The Archduke demanded a suspension of arms, in order to bury the dead, which was granted: but this was not the only loss sustained, as a column of

5,000 men, which had been detached from General Rosenburgh's corps, with the design of falling upon the rear of the French, was, by the issue of the battle, completely cut off. General Hellinger, who commanded, at first manifested the intention of defending himself, and even compelled a regiment, sent against him, to take shelter under the walls of a castle; but he was obliged to desist; for Massena having repaired, in person, to the spot, and four battalions of French grenadiers having surrounded the column, the Austrian general entered into a capitulation, and laid down his arms.

Thus it appears that the Archduke, being sensible of his inability to resist the French in that quarter; and, no doubt, being anxious to relieve the Capital of Vienna from the danger with which it was threatened, from the rapid advances of the grand army, under Napoleon, came to the determination of making a positive retreat. In the meantime, General St. Cyr having evacuated the kingdom of Naples, conformable to a convention entered into with his Sicilian Majesty, reinforced the army of Massena with 25,000 men.

Napoleon, having ordered the states belonging to the House of Austria to be taken possession of, and the Austrian prisoners to be marched into France, with the demolition of the fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen, set out, with the greatest part of his army, for Augsburg, on his route for Bavaria, when he ordered bridge-heads to be raised on the bridges over the Lech, and magazines to be formed beyond them. On the evening of the 24th, the Emperor reached Munich, the Bavarian capital, where he was joined by Prince Murat, and received great honours. The latter had left a division of the troops, with whom he had pursued the Archduke Ferdinand, on the other side of the Danube, under Baraguay D'Hillier and General Mortier, and ordered them to observe the motions of the Austrians. While Napoleon was at Munich, the disposition of the French army

was thus arranged: the Emperor, at the head of the main body, advanced towards Vienna, having in his front a corps of Austrians, which had been just reinforced by the first column of the Russian army. To protect his flanks and rear, he ordered the division under Mortier to watch the motions of the Austrians in Bohemia, under the Archduke Ferdinand, by which his left was secured; his right was protected by Marshal Ney, who mounted the Lech up to the confines of the Tyrol, and checked the Austrians in that country, under the Archduke John. In addition to these corps, the division of Marshal Angereau, who had, subsequently, passed the Rhine, occupied the posts of Swabia, in the environs of the Lake of Constance; thus securing himself against any attempt that might have been made from the Vorarlberg, or to resist any Prussian force that might cross the Danube after the violation of the territory of Anspach, previously mentioned.

The centre of the French army had now reached the Inn, where the Austrians and Russians were posted, and, on the 28th, effected a passage over that river, in the vicinity of Brannau. Marshal Bernadotte, who had advanced by Wafferburg, proceeded, on the 27th, to Alttingmarkt; there he found the bridge broken down, and a strong fort raised to oppose his progress; but a corps of French and Bavarians, who had proceeded by Roth to Rotherheim, found the passage of the River more practicable at that place, and succeeded in crossing. The enemy was, in consequence, obliged to retreat; when that bridge, equally with the one at Alttingmarkt, were repaired.

Davoust's corps, which took the route by Freying, after some opposition, passed the bridge at Muldorf, while Murat, with the cavalry, traversed those at Octing and Marchiel. The Austrians and Russians, finding their force inadequate to any effectual opposition, retreated, step by step, towards Vienna, where all the citizens, capable of bearing arms, were embodied, and a proclamation issued, in

which the Emperor of Austria made a boast of "trusting in the justice of his cause, and the love and energy of twenty-five millions of people, aided by the powerful assistance of his Russian auxiliaries!" The Emperor of Austria, however, did not hint at the number of women and children among those twenty-five millions of souls; the event however showed that he might have confided his cause to those with as much effect as to their fathers, their husbands, or even his *powerful* Russian auxiliaries!

The right bank of the Inn being thus left undefended, Marshal Lannes entered Brannau on the 29th, a place of considerable strength, with vast magazines of artillery, powder, and military stores, which proved a seasonable supply to the French army: Napoleon arrived on the 30th, and fixed his head-quarters at the same place. From thence Bernadotte was detached to the right, to occupy Salzburg, so as to intercept the communication between the army under the Archduke Charles, in the Venetian territory, and the Austro-Russians. A corps of 6,000 Austrians, stationed near Salzburg, retreating to Oells, was pursued by the French advanced guard, under Kellerman, and overtaken near Pasling; where, notwithstanding its strength and position, that force retired, after losing some hundreds of prisoners. Prince Murat, with his cavalry, was the first to overtake the Austrian rear guard (about 6,000 strong), posted on the heights of Ried: they were charged with great impetuosity by the French horse, and forced to give way, after which, however, the enemy rallied, to protect their baggage, but having sustained an obstinate conflict, were put to flight, leaving four or five hundred prisoners. Murat, continuing the pursuit on the 31st, again fell in with the enemy's rear near Lambach, where, in consequence of a show of resistance, the allies lost a few pieces of cannon, and about 400 men, 100 of whom were Russians. It was now the object of the allies to secure a position behind the Ems; but Prince Murat took possession of Oells on

the 1st of November, and, on the same day, General Melboud, with his reserve of cavalry, entered Lintz, where he found considerable magazines. The main body of the French army was at the heels of the advanced guard: Marshal Davoust approached Styr, on the Ems; and Napoleon, whose head quarters were at Laybach, made his arrangements for driving the enemy from the banks of the Ems, the last line of defence which remained to them between that river and Vienna. However, as they were aware of the dispositions made for turning their left flank, and observing the enemy approaching their front with boldness, they abandoned the defence of the Ems and retired slowly towards that city. The French army lost no time in crossing the river, and pressed forward with eagerness towards the Austrian capital, which was in a state of great consternation and confusion. The Russians made a stand on the heights of Anstettin, in order to resist the progress of the French, when they were attacked by Prince Murat's cavalry, and General Oudinot's grenadiers, and, finally, obliged to quit the field, leaving 1,600 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Thus the Russians, whose hardiness and valour had been the constant theme of the English newspapers, proved as weak and inconsiderable as their allies, when opposed to the superior activity and military skill of the French!

On the 7th of November, at night, the Austrian Count Ginlay was sent to the French head-quarters, to try if some respite could not be obtained, under the idea of a negotiation. Napoleon's head-quarters were at Lintz; when that nobleman presented himself, with proposals in the name of the Emperor of Germany, and his allies, to conclude an armistice of a few weeks, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation for a general pacification. Bonaparte expressed his readiness to accede to the armistice, on condition that the Austrian monarch would cause the allied troops to return home, the Hungarian



levy to be disbanded, and the Duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French army. With that reply Count Giulay returned to his court, and Napoleon continued his plan of operations.

Murat had already restored the bridges over the Ips, and on the 7th established his head-quarters at the celebrated Abbey of Moelk, his advanced posts being pushed to St. Polten. Mortier had contrived, with part of his corps, to keep pace, on the left bank of the Danube, with the main army on the opposite shore, so as to render it material assistance. Davoust also advanced from Steyr by Naydhoffen, Marienzel, and Lilienfeldt, with the project of overtaking the left of the allies, stationed at St. Polten; whilst the French Emperor, with the centre, moved on to attack the front.

On the 8th the French attacked a division of Austrians, under General Meerveldt, near Marienzel, on the road to Vienna, and took three standards, 16 pieces of cannon, and 3,000 prisoners, when the remains of that Austrian corps advanced on the route for Hungary in great haste.

The French Emperor's head-quarters being at the Abbey of Moelk,\* a deputation from the magistrates of

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\* The following note, transcribed from the twenty-first bulletin, dated from Moelk, November the 10th, will make the reader fully acquainted with the then situation of affairs in Germany. "The Abbey of Moelk, in which the Emperor is lodged, is one of the finest in Europe. There is not, either in France or in Italy, any convent or abbey which can compare with it. It is in a strong position, and commands the Danube. It was one of the principal posts of the Romans, which was called the Iron House, built by the Emperor Commodus. The vaults and cellars of the abbey were found full of excellent Hungarian wine, which was of great service to the army, a long time in want of this article. But we are now in the wine-country! there is a great deal of it in the vicinity of Vienna. The Emperor ordered that a particular safe-guard should be stationed at the Chateau of Lusichoss, a little country residence of the Emperor of Austria, on the left bank of the Danube. The approaches to Vienna on this side bear no resemblance to the ordinary avenues of great capitals. From Lintz to Vienna there is but one made road, a great number of rivers, such as the Inn, the Eslaph, the Moelk, the Tragen, &c.; which have but bad bridges of wood. The country is covered with forests of fir. At every step there are impregnable positions, in which the enemy

Vienna waited upon him; imploring him to treat their city with lenity, as the unfortunate inhabitants were not the cause of war! He replied, that they must take care not to open their gates to the Austrians or Russians, but only to the French army.

On the 7th of November, the Austrian Emperor finding that his whining proclamations were treated by the people as they deserved, conceived it best to retire, and leave them to the mercy of his enemies. He, therefore, set out with his court, to Brunn, in Moravia, while the great mass of the people waited patiently for the French. Tired of the war, oppressed with taxes, and despairing for want of trade, no change could be for the *worse*, and might prove for the *better*. Besides, they hated the Russians, who were agents of "religious and regular governments," for their barbarity, and in consequence the French took possession of the Imperial capital, without firing a gun.

The most respectable of the inhabitants formed a national guard, under the direction of the French General,

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endeavoured in vain to make a stand. They had always to dread that they would be uncovered, and turned by the columns which manœuvred beyond their flanks. From the Inn to this place, the Danube is superb, its points of view are picturesque, its navigation down the current is rapid and easy. All the letters intercepted speak only of the frightful chaos which Vienna presents. The war has been undertaken by the Austrian cabinet, contrary to the opinion of all the Princes of the Imperial Family. But Colloredo, led by his wife, who, though a Frenchwoman, has a mortal hatred to her country; Colloredo, accustomed to tremble at the very name of a Russian, in the persuasion that every thing ought to give way before them; and to whom it is, besides, possible, that the agents of England may have found means to introduce themselves; and in fine, that wretch Mack, who had already so great a part in the renewal of the second coalition:—These are the influences which have been stronger than the representations of all prudent men, and of all the members of the Imperial Family. There is not an individual down to the meanest citizen, or the lowest subaltern officer, who does not feel that this war is advantageous only to the English: that they have fought only for them; that they are the planners of the misfortunes of Europe, in the same manner as, by their monopoly, they are the authors of the excessive high price of goods."

who was appointed governor of the city; so that public tranquillity was not in the least interrupted.

The French advanced guard first appeared before Vienna on the 11th, the next day the main body arrived, and was lodged in the suburbs, where their enemies acknowledged they conducted themselves in an orderly and quiet manner; but they did not enter the city till the 13th, when they found it totally evacuated by the military, and the inhabitants mounting guard.

Murat, who commanded the advanced troops, marched through the city, and passed the bridge over the Danube without resistance. There was, indeed, a corps of Austrians stationed, under Prince Auersperg, at the bridge, for the purpose of destroying it in case of necessity, preparations being made for so doing. Murat, aware of that circumstance, rode up at full speed to the officer, and assured him, on his word of honour, that an armistice had been concluded, by which artifice he prevailed upon his credulity so far as to prevent the destruction of the bridge, which might have considerably retarded the advance of the French army into Moravia.

On the 14th, the divisions of Marshals Soult and Davoust crossed the river, treading in the footsteps of Murat, part of the latter corps, however, being detached down the Danube towards Presburgh, in Hungary. On the same day, Napoleon made his entry into Vienna, and employed a great portion of the ensuing night in visiting his outposts beyond the Danube, after which he retired to the Imperial Palace of Schoenbrunn, which he had selected for his residence.\*

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\* We select the following note from the 24th bulletin, dated Schoenbrunn, November the 15th, as elucidating the events of that period: "The palace of Schoenbrunn, in which the Emperor resides, was built by Maria Theresa, whose portrait is to be found in almost every apartment. In the room in which the Emperor is employed, there is a marble statue of this sovereign. The Emperor, on seeing it, remarked, that if that great Queen were living, she would not allow herself to be influenced by the intrigues of such a woman as Madame

The French found, at Vienna, immense magazines of military stores of all kinds, ammunition in abundance, and a vast quantity of artillery of every description. The number of muskets found in the arsenal was very great, 15,000 of which Bonaparte presented to the Elector of Bavaria; at the same time causing to be restored to that Prince the artillery taken on former occasions from the Electorate; great requisitions of cloth and wine were also made for the supply of the army. On the same day, the Emperor received a deputation of the citizens, to whom he gave assurances of his protection.

On the 15th, Bonaparte having appointed General Clarke governor of Upper and Lower Austria, traversed Vienna to join the army, which was fast advancing into Moravia. The Russians, who had been driven back from Brannau to St. Polten,\* crossed the Danube at

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Colloredo. Encircled as she always was, with the chief persons of her kingdom, she would have known the inclination of her people; she would not have had her provinces ravaged by the Cossacks and Moscovites; she would not have consulted, in order to form her determination of going to war with France, a courtier like Cobentzel, who, too well informed respecting court intrigues, dreads to oppose a foreign woman, invested with a pernicious authority, which she abuses; a scribe like Collembach; and a man, in short, so universally detested as Lamberti. She would not have given the command of her army to such men as Mack, appointed, not by the choice of the Sovereign, not by the confidence of the nation, but by England and Russia. This unanimity of opinion is, in fact, an extraordinary circumstance, in a nation entirely adverse to the decision of the court. The citizens of every class, the enlightened men, the very princes themselves, oppose the war. It is said, that Prince Charles, on his setting out for Italy, wrote to the Emperor, to show him the imprudence of his determination, and foretold him the ruin of the monarchy."

\* Count Rapp, in his Memoirs, at p. 54, gives the following interesting anecdote respecting Napoleon:—"We were at St. Polten; Napoleon was riding on horseback on the Vienna road, when he perceived an open carriage advancing, in which were seated a priest and a lady bathed in tears. The Emperor was dressed as usual, in the uniform of a Colonel of the Chasseurs of the guard. The lady did not know him. He inquired the cause of her affliction, and whither she was going! 'Sir,' she replied, 'I have been robbed at about two leagues from hence by a party of soldiers, who have killed my gardener. I am going to request that your Emperor will grant me a guard. He once knew my family well, and lay under obligations to them.'

Krems, where, on the 9th, they were encountered on the left bank of that river, by Mortier's corps, consisting of about 5,000 men; and on the 10th, in the vicinity of Diernstein, the Russians being attacked, were forced to retire from Weiskirchen to Stein.

The Russians, in their turn, to the number of 20,000, attacked the French early the ensuing morning, when, notwithstanding their superior numbers, the latter repulsed them, after repeated attempts. The Russian general, however, had calculated on another manoeuvre; having detached two columns, by a difficult pass, to turn the enemy. This plan partly succeeded, as Mortier was obliged to cut his way through the Russian lines, which was accomplished with great difficulty and considerable loss in killed and prisoners, while General Mortier himself was severely wounded. The loss on the side of the Russians was equally important, particularly owing to the death of lieutenant-general Smedt, an officer of great repute in the Austrian service, acting as quarter-master-general to the Russian army, who had been much in the confidence of the Archduke Charles. The Russians, after this last affair, fell back upon Brunn, to wait for reinforcements, under general Buxhovoden; but, as the particulars of this most extraordinary action, in the subjoined note, were written by a French officer of rank at Vienna, who was with the army, they are entitled to a proportionate degree of credit.\*

'Your name?' inquired Napoleon: 'De Brunny,' answered the lady; 'I am the daughter of M. de Marbœuf, formerly governor of Corsica.' 'I am delighted to meet you, Madam,' exclaimed Napoleon, with the most charming frankness; 'and to have an opportunity of serving you. I am the Emperor!' The lady was amazed. Napoleon consoled her, and directed her to wait for him at head quarters. He treated her with the utmost attention, granted her a piquet of chasseurs of his guard, and sent her away happy and contented."

\* "Bonaparte," observes the writer in question, "having made 60,000 prisoners, marched against Vienna; the detachment of Kienmayer fled to Hungary, when the empress and her children sought

After this the French army continued to advance so rapidly, that the Emperor of Austria and his court determined to remove from Brunn to Olmutz. Previous, however, to his departure, on the 13th, he thought proper to try the effect of another proclamation, wherein he told his unhappy people, that the demands of the French Emperor being inadmissible, and having refused an armistice, nothing remained for him to do, but trust to those resources that might be found in the fidelity and strength of his people, united to the undiminished forces of his high allies, the Emperor of Russia and the King of

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refuge; the Russians then passed the Danube at Lintz and Krems, and cut down the bridges; after which they took the road to Moravia. Francis II. was with them, as well as his brothers, who were witnesses of the devastations committed by their allies, in a country which they had marched to defend. Napoleon sent three divisions to the left of the Danube, in boats, to pursue the Russians; who, knowing our inferiority, faced about against the division of Mortier, only 5,000 strong, which had overtaken them at Stein. It was surrounded by thirty battalions, and must either surrender at discretion to a ferocious enemy, or devote itself to glory: the troops then formed into a close mass, and opened themselves a passage, sword in hand, over the bodies of their enemies, who left 4,000 men on the field of battle, among whom was General Suedt. That day decided the question between the French and Russian infantry; for several hours the artillery moved down columns, and whole ranks fell under the bayonets of the combatants, who refused quarter on both sides: we had, towards noon, forced back a Russian battalion to the Danube, and pushed them so close, that the enemy threw themselves on their knees in the water, crying "*prisoners!*" We, in consequence, left off killing, when the Russians resuming their arms, fell upon us with frightful cries of "*houra! houra!*" (kill) and forced us at several points; they were massacred by a reserve, very dexterously left behind by the general.

"Towards night, for want of cartridges, they fought with stones—in many places the battle became individual; some French soldiers, being closely pressed, threw themselves into the houses of a small village on the field of battle, and there intrenched themselves; the enemy set fire to the place, and many brave fellows perished in the flames. If our loss was only 2,000 men, we owe it to our own superiority in the art of occupying positions; and, particularly, the principle of sustaining the most rude shocks by corps of reserve, without which you never can make good retreats, and if you are victorious, you may lose all in a minute, because violent shocks throw the conquerors, as well as the vanquished, into disorder, of which he who has a fresh corps profits."

Prussia; and to persist in such determination, until the French Emperor should consent to conditions, consistent with the honour and independence of a great state.

By the evening of the 14th so many Austrian corps had been routed, at different points, that it was observed, almost all the German artillery was in the hands of the enemy. By that time, also, Marshal Bernadotte, having made a circuit to the right by Saltzburgh, and the confines of Hungary, passed the Danube to join the main army.

On the 15th, Murat and Lannes came up with the Russian forces at Holbrunn, who, being charged by the French cavalry, abandoned their ground, leaving some of their baggage behind. The Russian general finding himself hard pressed, and desirous of gaining a little time, had recourse to a device, in which he was authorized by the stratagem previously resorted to by Murat, in passing the bridge at Vienna. The bearer of a flag of truce presented himself at the French advanced posts, and Baron Winzingerode, aid-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, demanded leave for the Russian army to capitulate, and separate from the Austrians. This was a pretext too specious not to be listened to; and Murat, the author of the above-mentioned deception, communicated the information to Bonaparte, who, soon suspecting the ruse, refused to agree to the proposed terms, on the grounds, that a Russian was not duly authorised to treat, at the same time declaring, that if the Emperor of Russia would ratify the convention, he would accede, upon which the French army continued to advance.

The Russians, during this parley, were occupied in, making their preparations to retreat, and had effected some progress when they were attacked the next day near Guntersdorff. The loss on both sides was considerable, added to which, the Russians left behind them 2,000 prisoners, and had nearly as many killed and wounded, having also lost twelve pieces of cannon, and as many baggage-waggons :

among the wounded French officers were General Oudinot and his two aides-de-camp. On the 17th, the French head-quarters were at Znaim, where they found the sick of the Russian army abandoned to their fate. On the 18th, General Sebastiani succeeded in cutting off a part of the Russian rear-guard, and made nearly 2,000 prisoners; and, on the same day, Prince Murat entered Brunn, a regular fortress, capable of sustaining a siege, and well supplied with ammunition and provisions.

On the 20th, Bonaparte removed to Brunn, where he received a deputation from the states of Moravia, with the bishop at its head. He then caused the citadel to be taken possession of, in which were found 6,000 stand of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition.

The next advance of the French was from Brunn to Olmutz.—On the road, the Russians again attempted to stop their progress, having collected all their cavalry, to the number of 6,000 troops, when the French horse vigorously attacked them, and although they maintained their ground during the whole day, they fell back on the drawing-in of night.

Brunn being put into a better state of defence, the French army did not move for some days, at the expiration of which, it advanced and took a position near Wishau, in face of the allied army, which was posted between that place and Olmutz, on the spot that gave birth to the ever memorable defeat, experienced at the battle of Austerlitz.



## CHAP. XV.

*Operations of the French Army, after the Capture of Vienna—Thirteenth Bulletin, giving an ample Detail of the Affair at Austerlitz—Anecdote of General Rapp, and other interesting Particulars relative to the Battle—Thirty-first Bulletin of the Grand Army, made public at the Theatre Français at Paris—NAPOLEON's Order of the Day to his Army, previous to the Conflict at Austerlitz—The Emperor's Proclamations after the Victory—Results of the Defeat of the Russians, and Preliminaries of Peace signed, with NAPOLEON's Proclamation to his Soldiers, previous to his Departure from Schoenbrunn to the French Capital.*

UPON the capture of Vienna, Marshal Davoust had marched to Presburgh, to attempt a negotiation with the Archduke Palatine, for the neutrality of Hungary, but did not succeed, in consequence of which Davoust rejoined the main army. The forces of France and the allies are said to have been nearly equal, but the former were flushed with success and superior to their opponents in skill, confidence, and discipline. The French, according to their adversaries, had 105,000 men, and the two armies, in presence of each other, were determined to make a stand; when, on the 29th of November, Counts Stadion and Giulay were deputed, on the part of the Emperor of Austria, to open a negotiation, while Count Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, repaired to offer his master's mediation, who, it was conjectured, felt strongly disposed to take part with the allies against France. Napoleon appeared to listen to the proposals, but the event seemed to indicate, that it was only assumed for

the purpose of putting the allies off their guard. On the evening of the 28th, some French advanced posts were attacked by the Prussians near Wishau, and forced to fall back: however, Bonaparte having learned that the Emperor Alexander had advanced to that place, followed by the main body of his army, dispatched General Savary, one of his aids-de-camp, avowedly to compliment that sovereign; but the particulars, as well as those of the ensuing battle, will be best explained from the French bulletins; authorities no English historian, who aims at impartiality, need be ashamed of quoting; since the particulars of the loss of the Russians in the battle, which took place at Friedland, as stated in the French bulletins and newspapers, were confirmed, even to a unit, by General Lord Hutchinson, who afterwards stated, in the House of Lords, that "the Russians were generally unsuccessful; that they never obtained a victory; that the success at Elau was no victory to them; that, in fact, the Russians were inferior to the French in every thing but courage; that there never was a general in the world equal to Bonaparte for military movements; and that, in the battle of Friedland, and during ten days before it, the Russians lost 40,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, 1,800 officers, and 27 generals! These, it is to be observed, were the exact numbers stated in the French bulletins; and, as their authority was acknowledged on *subsequent* occasions, their credit cannot be more questionable on the *former*. Their account of the memorable battle of Austerlitz, with some important particulars which preceded and followed that remarkable event, were thus narrated:\*

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\* In the year 1805, Count Daru being at Boulogne, as intendant-general of the French army, the Emperor, one morning, summoned him into his cabinet, whither Daru immediately repaired, and found him transported with rage, traversing his apartment with hurried steps, and breaking a sullen silence only by hasty and short ejaculations:—"What a navy!—What an admiral!—What sacrifices lost!—My ex

## THIRTIETH BULLETIN OF THE GRAND ARMY.

*Austerlitz, December 3.*

"On the 27th of November, the Emperor, on receiving the communication of the full powers of MM. Stadion and De Gyalay, previously offered an armistice, in order to spare the effusion of blood, if any real intention was entertained of coming to an arrangement and definitive accommodation.—But it was easy for the Emperor to perceive that they had other projects in view; and as the hope of success could only be derived from delay, on the part of the Russian forces, he easily conjectured that the second and third armies were come up, or on the point of arriving, at Olmutz; and that the negotiations were only a *ruse-de-guerre*, to lull his vigilance to sleep. On the 28th, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacs, sup-

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pectations are deceived!—This Villeneuve!—instead of being in the channel, has just entered Ferrol!—It is all over with him!—He will be blockaded there—Daru, place yourself there (pointing to a corner of the room), and write what I dictate."

The Emperor had received, at a very early hour, the news of the arrival of Villeneuve in a Spanish port; he immediately saw his intended conquest of England baffled; the immense expenses of the fleet and flotilla lost for a time, and perhaps for ever! Then, during a paroxysm of passion, which would have permitted no other man, in similar circumstances, to preserve his judgement in a collected state, Napoleon formed one of the boldest resolutions, and sketched the most admirable plan of a campaign, which any conqueror ever conceived in leisure and in cold blood. Without hesitating, without stopping for a moment, he dictated the whole operations of the campaign of Austerlitz—the departure of all the corps of the army, from Hanover and Holland to the confines of the west and the south of France—the order of the marches—their duration—the places for the diverging and reunion of the columns—the cutting off by surprise and the attack by open force—the various movements of the enemy—all were foreseen and victory insured throughout the whole of the hypothesis. Such was the accuracy and vast foresight of this plan, that over a line of six hundred, and operations including nine hundred miles in length, the whole were followed up from primitive indications, day by day, and place by place, as far as Munich. Beyond that capital, the precise days of action alone experienced some alterations; but the destinations were attained, and the whole of the plan was crowned with complete success.

ported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wishau, and captured fifty of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day, the Emperor of Russia repaired to Wishau, and the whole Russian army took up a position behind that city. The Emperor sent his aid-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment the Emperor of Russia, as soon as he had ascertained the arrival of that prince in the army. General Savary returned at the moment the Emperor was reconnoitring the fires of the enemy's outposts at Wishau. He spoke in warm terms of commendation of the handsome reception, the favours and the personal sentiments of the Emperor of Russia, and even of the Grand Duke Constantine, who showed him every attention; but it was easy to understand, from the conversation he had had, for three days, with a crowd of coxcombs, who, under different titles, were about the Emperor of Russia, that presumption and imprudence reigned in the decisions of the military coteries, as much as they had done in those of the political cabinets. An army so conducted could not but commit faults—the Emperors's plan was, from that period, to wait for them, and watch the auspicious moment when it would be expedient to act. He immediately ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had been defeated, took a good position, three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation, in fortifying it and raising batteries.

“He proposed an interview with the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aid-de-camp, Prince Dolgorukj, who no doubt remarked, that every thing breathed reserve and fear, in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, the fortifications made with such haste, every thing served to testify to the Russian officer an army half beaten.—Contrary to the Emperor's custom, who never received with so much circumspection the flags of truce at his head quarters, he went himself to the advanced posts. The Russian discussed every thing

with an impertinence difficult to be conceived ; he was in the most perfect ignorance of the interests of Europe, and of the situation of the continent ; in a word, he was a young trumpeter for England. He spoke to the Emperor as he would have done to the Russian officers, whom he had long disgusted by his haughtiness and improper conduct. The Emperor repressed his own indignation ; and the young man, who had a real influence over the Emperor Alexander, returned with a conviction that the French army was on the very eve of ruin. One may be convinced, above all, of what the Emperor must have suffered, when it is known, that, towards the close of the conversation, he proposed to him to cede Belgium, and to place the iron crown upon the head of one of the most implacable enemies of France ! All those different steps, however, were attended with their due effect. The youthful heads that directed the Russians councils gave themselves up, without measure, to their natural presumption. It was no longer a question if the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken—it had only hitherto effected so much through the cowardice of the Austrians. We are assured that several old Austrian generals, who made campaigns against the Emperor, warned the council, that it was not with such confidence that men ought to march against old soldiers and officers of the first merit. They said, they had seen the French Emperor, reduced to a handful of men, ensure victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy the most numerous armies : that on the present occasion, no advantage had been obtained ; on the contrary, that all the affairs with the rear-guard of the first Russian army had been in favour of the French : but that presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians, the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their Emperor, the picked corps of the Imperial Guard of Russia ; and what, probably, they dared not affirm, their own

talents, of which they were astonished the Austrians would not acknowledge the superior power.

“On the 1st December, the Emperor, from the heights, saw, with indescribable joy, the Russian army commencing, within twice the distance of cannon-shot from his advanced posts, a flanked movement to turn his right. He then perceived to what a pitch presumption and ignorance of the art of war had misled the councils of that brave force. He several times remarked, “Before to-morrow night that army will be in my power.” Yet the enemy’s idea was far different; he appeared before our posts within pistol shot; and defiled by a flank march upon a line four leagues in extent. When passing the length of the French army, which seemed quitting its position, he had but one fear, namely, that the French should escape. Every thing was done to confirm the Russians in this idea. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but, all at once, it appeared as if astonished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste. Hence, every thing tended to confirm the Russian general in following up the operation he had determined upon. At night, Napoleon wished to visit on foot, and incognito, all the posts; but he had not proceeded many steps ere he was recognised. It would be impossible to depict the enthusiasm of the soldiers on seeing him. Lighted straw was placed, in an instant, upon the tops of innumerable poles, and 80,000 men appeared before the Emperor, saluting him with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation; others saying, that the army would, to-morrow, offer its *boquet* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and exclaimed, ‘Sire! you need not expose yourself—I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers of the army, that you shall only have to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you, to-morrow, the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation.’ The Emperor said, upon

his return to his guard-house, which consisted of a miserable straw cabin, without a roof, which the grenadiers had erected for him; 'This is the finest evening of my life; but I regret to think that I shall lose a great number of those brave fellows.—I feel, by the pain it gives me, that they are, indeed, my children; and I often reproach myself for that sentiment, as I fear it will terminate in rendering me unfit to carry on the war.' If the enemy had seen the sight, it would have terrified them—but the unthinking Russians continued their movements, and hastened, with quick steps, to their inevitable ruin.

"Bonaparte made *his dispositions* for battle immediately. He sent off Marshal Davoust, in great haste, to the convent of Raygern, to keep in check the enemy's left wing, in order that, upon a given signal, it might be quite surrounded: he confided to Marshal Lannes the command of the left wing; to Marshal Soult that of the right; and to Marshal Bernadotte the direction of the centre, while Prince Murat received the command of the cavalry, with which he was posted on one point. The left of Marshal Lannes approached Santon, a superb position, which had been fortified and mounted with eighteen pieces of cannon. From the preceding evening he had entrusted the keeping of that strong post to the 17th light infantry, and certainly it could not be guarded by better troops. General Suchet's division formed the left of Marshal Lannes; the division of General Caferelli composed his right, and was supported at the same time by Prince Murat's cavalry. The latter had before it the hussars and chasseurs, under General Thellemont, and the dragoon divisions of Walther and Beaumont, while in reserve were the cuirassier divisions of Generals Nansouty and Hautpoult, with twenty-four pieces of light artillery. Marshal Bernadotte (that is to say, the centre division) had on the left the forces of General Rivaud, which also communicated with Prince Murat's right wing, and on the right the division of General Drouet. Mar-

that Soult, who commanded the right wing of the army, had on his left the division of General Vandamme, in his centre that of General St. Hilaire, and on his right the troops of General Legrand. Marshal Davoust was detached to the right of General Legrand, to observe the road between the lakes and the villages of Sokolnitz and Celnitz; he had with him General Friant's corps and the dragoons of General Boucher's division. The forces of General Gudin were directed to march, at day-break, from Nicolsburg, to stop the corps of the enemy, which might have out-flanked the right wing.

"The Emperor, with his faithful companion in war, Marshal Berthier; his first aid-de-camp, Colonel Junot, and all his *état-major*, were in reserve with the ten battalions of his guard and those of General Oudinot's grenadiers, part of whom were commanded by General Duroc. That reserve was ranged in two lines, in columns, while battalions deployed at a distance, having in the intervals forty pieces, served by the cannoneers of the guard. It was with that reserve the Emperor intended to push forward wherever it might be necessary, and it may with truth be asserted, that that corps was well worth an army. At one in the morning the Emperor mounted on horse-back\* to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and procure an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians.—He heard that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had orders to reinforce it. Day dawned, at length, on the 2d—the sun rose bright, and the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be achieved, proved one of the finest days of autumn. The battle, which the soldiers persisted in calling 'The

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\* It was previous to this that Napoleon enjoyed the short repose, as represented in the subjoined plate of his *Brouac*.



Day of the Three Emperors,' by others denominated 'The Day of the Anniversary;' and which the Emperor named 'The Battle of Austerlitz,' must be ever memorable in the annals of the Great Nation. The Emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, in order to make known his final resolves. When the sun shot forth his first rays, the commands were issued, and each marshal joined his corps at full gallop. The Emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments, 'Soldiers! we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and, instantly, *hats were placed on the points of their bayonets*, and cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' were the signal for battle.—A moment afterwards the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the Russians short, and the battle commenced.—Marshal Soult then put himself in motion, proceeding to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with General Vandamme and St. Hilaire's division, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain: surprised by a flank march whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking when it was attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry, and the left wing, under command of General Lannes, equally marched forward, *en echelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade instantly took place along the whole line, 200 pieces of artillery and near 200,000 men, made a tremendous noise; it was a real combat of giants! Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off, while their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors, who immediately marched forwards, the Emperor of Russia's guard, to endeavour to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guard, on horseback, and

routed ; but the Emperor was at hand ; he perceived this movement ; ordered Marshal Bessieres to advance to the succour of his right with the invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged : success could not be doubtful ; in a moment the Russians were routed ; colonel, artillery, standards, every thing was taken ! the regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated ! he owed his personal safety only to the fleetness of his horse ! From the heights of Austerlitz the two emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard ! At the same moment, the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced ; three of his regiments made a very fine charge of cavalry ; the left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, equally performed several ; and all the charges were victorious : General Caffarelli's division no less distinguished itself ; the cuirassiers took the enemy's batteries ; so that at one point the victory was decided—it had not been doubtful for a moment ; not a man of the reserve having been wanted. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, was on a flat, and near a lake, whither the Emperor hastened with twenty pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position ; and we saw the horrid spectacle (such as had been witnessed at Aboukir) of 20,000 men throwing themselves into the water, and being drowned in the lake !\* Two columns of Russians (4,000 each) laid down their arms and surrendered them—

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\* The columns of Russians, which threw themselves into the lakes, were favoured by the ice ; but some cannon-shot broke it, and two entire columns were totally annihilated at the beginning of the battle, and, during several hours in the night, the Emperor went through the field of slaughter and had the wounded removed ; a horrible sight, if ever there were one ! The Emperor, who was mounted on a very fleet horse, passed along with the rapidity of lightning, and nothing was more affecting than to see those brave men recognise him on the field. Some of them forgetting their sufferings, exclaimed, “ Is the victory quite certain ? ” Another said, “ I have been in torture these eight hours, and since the commencement of the battle I have been deserted, but I have done my duty.” Others said, “ You ought to be well satisfied with your soldiers to day.”—To every wounded soldier the Emperor left a person to take him to the waggons provided for

selves prisoners: all the enemy's park of artillery was taken, and the result of the day was, forty Russian standards, amongst which were those of the imperial guard, and an incalculable number of prisoners; we have, already, an account of from twenty to thirty thousand; twelve or fifteen generals, and, at least, fifteen thousand Russians killed on the field of battle! Though we have not yet the report, we may, at the first *coup-d'œil*, estimate our loss at eight hundred killed, and fifteen or sixteen hundred wounded. This will not surprise military men, who know that it is only in a rout that men are lost, and no other corps but the battalion of the 4th was penetrated. Amongst the wounded are General St. Hilaire, who, though disabled in the beginning, remained the whole day on the field of battle! he covered himself with glory; the generals of divisions, Kellerman and Walter; generals of brigade, Valhuber, Tiniebal, Sebastiani, Compier, and Rapp, the Emperor's aide-de-camp: it was the latter, who, in charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guards, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the imperial guard of Russia, prisoner.\* With respect to the men

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the wounded. It is horrible to mention, that, forty-eight hours after the battle, there were a great number of wounded Russians that could not be dressed.

\* In allusion to the above circumstance, and the representation of General Rapp, conveying the news of the defeat of the enemy at Austerlitz to Napoleon, as represented in our plate, illustrative of that great victory, General Rapp thus expresses himself in his Memoirs, at pages 62 and 63:

"The Russians fled and dispersed; Alexander and the Emperor of Austria witnessed the defeat. Stationed on a height at a little distance from the field of battle, they beheld the guard, which had been expected to decide the victory, cut to pieces by a handful of brave men. Their guns and baggage had fallen into our possession, and Prince Repnin was our prisoner; unfortunately, however, we had a great number of men killed and wounded. Colonel Morland was no more, and I had myself received a sabre wound in the head; in which situation I galloped off to give an account of the affair to the Emperor. My broken sabre, my wound, the blood with which I was covered, the decided advantage we had gained with so small a force over the enemy's chosen troops, inspired Napoleon with the idea of the picture that was painted by Gerard."

who were distinguished, it was the whole army that covered itself with glory; constantly charging at the cry of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' as the idea of celebrating thus gloriously the anniversary of the coronation animated the soldiers. The French army was less numerous than that of the enemy, which was 105,000 strong, 80,000 Russians, and 25,000 Austrians. Half of that army is destroyed, the rest has been completely routed, and the major part threw away their arms !\*

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\* In the course of this sanguinary and decisive struggle, many curious anecdotes occurred, of which we select the following from the bulletins as interesting occurrences :—

The Emperor said, "I have fought thirty battles like this, but I never saw one where the victory was so decided, and the fate of battle so little balanced." The foot-guards of the Emperor could not engage; they cried through spite, as they absolutely insisted upon doing something. "Be satisfied," said the Emperor, "that you have nothing to do: you are to engage as the reserve; it will be so much the better if there be no occasion for you to-day."

A part of General Vilhubert's leg was carried away by a ball. Four soldiers approached to take him up; "Mind the order of the day," said he to them, with a voice like thunder, "and join your ranks; return victors, and carry me off after the battle is ended; if you are beaten, my life will only be a burthen." The loss of this general is the only one we have to lament: all the other wounded generals are in a state of convalescence.

General Roger Vilhubert, who, as above stated, died of his wounds, an hour before his dissolution wrote to the Emperor in the following terms: "I wished yet to have done more for you: I must die in the course of an hour. I do not regret dying, as I have shared in a victory which will insure you a happy reign. When you sometimes remember the names of those brave men who were devoted to you, you will, I trust, also think of me. I yet beg leave to remind you, that I leave a family behind, but to recommend them—I need not."

A carabineer of the 10th light infantry, lost his arm by a shot: "Help me," cried he, to his comrade, "to take off my cartridge-box, and hasten forward to avenge my loss; I want no other assistance."—The wounded man then hanging his accoutrements upon his left arm, proceeded alone to the hospital.

The soldiers of the train have merited the esteem of the whole army. The artillery did prodigious mischief to the enemy. When a report of it was made to the Emperor, he said, "This success gives me great pleasure, for I do not forget that it was in that corps I began my military career!"

General Thiebault was dangerously wounded; four Russians seized him, and were carrying him off; six wounded Frenchmen, having perceived them, drove the Russians away, and seized the wounded ge-

"This day will cost tears of blood at Petersburg! may it cause the gold of England to be rejected with indignation! and may that young prince, whom so many virtues have raised to be the father of his subjects, tear himself from the influence of those coxcombs, whom England pays, and whose impertinence thwarts his intentions, makes him lose the love of his soldiers, and hurries him into the most ill-judged operations. Nature, in endowing him with so many great qualities, intended him to be the consolation of Europe: perfidious counsels, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will chronicle him, in history, in the rank of *men, who perpetuating the war upon the continent, will have consolidated British tyranny upon the seas, and produced the misery of our generation.* If France cannot arrive at peace but on the conditions proposed by the aide-de-camp, Dolsucki, to the Emperor, and which M. Novoziltzof was ordered to make, Russia should not obtain them, were her army encamped upon the heights of Montmatre. In the detailed relations of this battle, the *état-major* will make known what each corps, officer, and general, have done to render the French illustrious, and to afford proofs of their love for the Emperor.

"On the 3d, at day-break, Prince John of Lichsteinstein, commanding the Austrian army, repaired to the Emperor's head-quarters, in a barn; he had a long audience, yet we pursued our successes: the enemy retired by the road of Austerlitz, to Goddin; the French army was

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neral, exclaiming, "It is an honour belonging to us alone to carry a wounded French general."

There was not an officer, a general, or a soldier, but felt determined to conquer or to die:—We must not, however, conceal an incident which confers honour upon the enemy. The commander of the artillery of the Imperial Russian Guard lost his cannon, soon after which, meeting Napoleon, he exclaimed: "Sire! order me to be shot; I have lost my cannon." "Young man," replied the Emperor, "I esteem your tears, but a soldier may be beaten by my army, and still retain pretensions to glory."

in his rear, and followed sword in hand. Never was there a more horrible field of battle: from the middle of the immense lakes were heard the cries of thousands, who could not be assisted! three days must elapse ere all the wounded enemy can be conveyed to Brunn; the heart bleeds for so much bloodshed! May so many miseries fall, at length, upon the perfidious islanders, who are the cause of this slaughter! may the cowardly oligarchs of London bear the burthen of so many evils!"

THIRTY-FIRST BULLETIN OF THE GRAND ARMY.

*Paris, December 17.*

"The cannon, that fired yesterday, at one P.M. announced great news. In the hope of hearing the thirty-first bulletin read, we went to the theatre, and our wish was not disappointed. The representation of *Iphigenia in Aulis* had just begun, and the audience were applauding this allusion:—

'Mais qui peut dans sa course arreter ce torrent,  
Achille va combattre et triomphe en courant:'

when a civil officer appeared on the stage, and caused the actor, Lacave, to read the following to the audience:—

"The day after the battle of Austerlitz, otherwise called 'The Three Emperors,' his Majesty went to his station at the advanced posts, and received there the Emperor of Austria's visit. The conference of the two Monarchs was long and amicable. Francis II. looking at the wretched hut, in which Napoleon received him, could not avoid expressing some surprise. 'You see,' said our Emperor, laughing, 'these are the palaces in which you have compelled me to reside for the last two months.' 'You employ your time too well in them,' replied the Austrian Monarch, 'to have cause to reproach me.' The conversation having turned upon England, Francis II. testified his deepest indignation against the infamous policy of that power. 'The English are vile traders!' he repeated several times, 'who would set fire to the continent for the sake of their trade, I renounce their alliance for ever!'

“ Francis, encouraged by the frank and open air of the French Monarch, having solicited that the Emperor of Russia might be included in the armistice, ‘ I will now state to you,’ said Napoleon, ‘ that his army is entirely surrounded ; that, to-morrow, perhaps, it will be in my power : and, besides, nothing guarantees to me the pacific views of that prince.’ ‘ His intentions are in conformity with my own,’ replied Francis II. ‘ he shares my hatred and contempt for the British Government—in short, he wishes to withdraw.’ ‘ Well, since you are his guarantee, I desire nothing better than to prove myself agreeable to the wishes of the Emperor Alexander. I will open a retreat for his army—but I stipulate that he must retire immediately—let him evacuate all the Austrian possessions—not only in Germany, but in Poland : let him retrograde, by fixed marches, of which I will prescribe the route—and let no extraordinary levy be made in the states of that Prince.’

“ In consequence of this generous disposition, his Majesty sent his *aide-de-camp*, General Savary, to the headquarters of the Russian army. Introduced to the Emperor Alexander, he was received with the highest consideration ; when the first words spoken by the latter were expressive of a tribute to the genius of Napoleon. ‘ Your Emperor has performed miracles said Alexander—the day before yesterday covers him with immortal glory.’ Then, inquiring the details of the manoeuvres of the grand army, he added—‘ You were inferior in numbers, and every where your attacks were successful !’ ‘ It was the fruit of experience,’ replied the French General ; ‘ his Majesty has already fought thirty battles like those of Austerlitz.’ ‘ And,’ replied the Russian Monarch, ‘ this is the first in which I have been present ; I never pretended to rival Bonaparte—he is a very great warrior—he is really predestined by heaven.’

“ When they recurred to the subject of the message, Alexander inquired, what the French Emperor demanded of him ? and then, if his person was safe ?—‘ Yes, Sire,’

replied General Savary, ' your person is sacred; though, at the moment I am speaking, your army is turned. If your Majesty explains yourself frankly, I guarantee your retreat.'

" All the conditions above alluded to appear to have been sanctioned by the Emperor of Russia; who, as well as the Emperor of Austria, expressed himself well satisfied with the French Monarch.

" An armistice was, therefore, concluded between the three powers, and negotiations for peace were accordingly entered into. The French Emperor delivered himself in a forcible manner upon this latter point; and, in order not to be deceived, retained, *provisionally*, all he had taken, and intended to capture; namely, nearly the whole of Upper and Lower Austria, part of Bohemia, Carniola, the Tyrol, and the states of Venice," &c. &c.

Cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, and the warmest plaudits burst from all parts of the theatre as soon as this fortunate news was read, and there was not one of the audience who did not feel as it were transported back to the age of enchantment.

As the history, however, of the affair of Austerlitz would be incomplete without the French Emperor's order of the day, previous to the battle, and the two proclamations, issued immediately after, we think it requisite here to insert them.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

" *On the Field, December 1.*

" SOLDIERS!

" The Russian forces are before you, to avenge the Austrian army, at Ulm; they are the same battalions you conquered at Hollabrunn, and which you have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable, and, whilst they march to turn my right, they shall present me their flank.

" Soldiers! I shall direct myself all your battalions; I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with your ac-



customed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but should victory be for a moment doubtful, you shall behold your Emperor expose himself to the first blow; for victory cannot hesitate on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry (which is of so much importance to the whole nation) is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned under pretext of carrying off the wounded; and let each be well persuaded, that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred towards our nation. This victory will finish our campaign, when we shall return to winter quarters, and be joined by the new armies forming in France: then the peace which I shall sanction will be worthy of my people, of you, and of myself.

(Signed) "NAPOLÉON."

#### PROCLAMATION.

*"Head-quarters, Dec. 2, 10 o'clock at night.*

**"SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY!**

"Even at this hour, before this great day shall pass away and be lost in the ocean of eternity, your Emperor must address you, and express how much he is satisfied with the conduct of all those who have had the good fortune to combat in this memorable battle. Soldiers! you are the first warriors in the world! The recollection of this exploit and of your deeds, will be eternal! thousands of ages hereafter, so long as the events of the universe continue to be related, will record, that a Russian army, of seventy-six thousand men, hired by the gold of England, was annihilated by you on the plains of Olmutz.—The miserable remains of that army, upon which the commercial spirit of a despicable nation had placed its expiring hope, are in flight, hastening to make known to the savage inhabitants of the North what the French are capable of performing; they will, likewise, tell them, that, after having destroyed the Austrian army, at Ulm, you told Vienna—'That army is no more!' To Peters-

burgh you shall also say—‘ The Emperor Alexander has no longer an army!’

“ Soldiers of the Grand Army! four months have not elapsed since your Emperor spoke thus to you at Boulogne :—

“ We march to dissolve a coalition, formed by the gold and intrigues of England ; and the result has been the overthrow of three hundred thousand soldiers and two great monarchies! Soldiers ! you are worthy of immortality!—What will your relatives, what will every Frenchman say? they can never cease to contemplate you but with emotions of affection and admiration.—And, when your work is completed ; when you return to your own fire-sides, your families, all France will exclaim—‘ These are our brethren, the heroes of Olmutz! who, out of an army of seventy-six thousand men, made ten thousand prisoners, took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and left twenty-six thousand men dead on the field!

(Signed) “ NAPOLEON.”

Not content with this testimony of his satisfaction, the Emperor, on the ensuing day, issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

“ *Head-quarters, Austerlitz, Dec. 3.*

“ SOLDIERS!

“ I am satisfied with you ! At the battle of Austerlitz, you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity ! you have covered yourselves with eternal glory ! An army of one hundred thousand men, which was commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut off or dispersed! those who escaped your swords have thrown themselves into the lakes ! Forty stands of colours, the ensigns of the Russian Imperial Guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and above thirty thousand prisoners, are the fruits of this ever-memorable battle ! That infantry, so celebrated, and superior to you in num-

bers, has proved unable to resist your charge: and, henceforth, you have no rivals to fear! Thus, in less than two months, the third coalition is conquered and dissolved!—Peace cannot be at a great distance; but, as I promised to my people, before crossing the Rhine, I will never conclude it but on terms consistent with my pledge, and which shall secure not only the indemnification, but the reward of my allies.

“Soldiers! when the French people placed the imperial crown upon my head, I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that high splendour of glory which alone could give it value in my estimation; but, at that moment, our enemies entertained the design of tarnishing and degrading it; and the iron crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe! an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have reduced to naught on the anniversary of your Emperor’s coronation! You have taught them that it is easier to defy and to threaten than to subdue us.

“Soldiers! when every thing necessary to the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of our country has been achieved, I will return you my thanks in France; then will you be the objects of my tenderest care.—My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me, ‘I was at the battle of Austerlitz!’ will be enough to authorize the reply, ‘That is a brave man!’

(Signed) “NAPOLÉON.”

The affair of Austerlitz was so decisive in its effects, that nothing more of importance could possibly follow; however, reports, in London, upon very high authority, after an account of the same had been received, continued to amuse and cheer the public mind with another battle, on the succeeding day, in which the Russians and their Emperor performed prodigies of valour, recovering their cannon, and obtaining the most complete success: these tales, however, had but a transitory existence. To

the discerning few, nothing appeared, on the part of the Russians and Austrians, but prospects of defeat and disgrace. It is true, a trifling affair took place on the 3d of December, when Prince Bragration was attacked in the neighbourhood of Urschutz, from whence he retired, in the evening, towards Czeitsch.

On the 4th, the allied army made a retrograde movement, crossing the river March to Hollitsch; but the Emperor of Germany remained at Czeitsch. Prince John of Lichtenstein had been sent, on the 2d, to the French Emperor, to propose, or rather to solicit, an armistice; and it was then agreed, that a suspension of hostilities should take place, and commence on the 4th instant, at day-break. The Prince arrived at head-quarters the evening before; but it appears that the French army was not apprized of this transaction in sufficient time to prevent the hostile movements made on the 4th. In consequence of this agreement, an interview between the Emperors of Germany and France took place in the open air, at a small distance from the village of Nasedlowitz, near a mill, by the road side. The conference lasted a considerable time; when the Emperor Francis returned to Czeitsch in the evening, and immediately despatched an Austrian officer to communicate the result of the conference to the Emperor Alexander when General Savary was appointed by Napoleon to attend the Austrian officer to the Russian head-quarters. The Emperor of Russia is said to have received them with politeness; and, at the same time, though he did not formally concur in the armistice, he made no positive objection to its stipulations. The result of the engagements then entered into, authorized the French army to remain in possession of its conquests; viz.—part of Moravia and Hungary; all Upper and Lower Austria; the Tyrol; the States of Vienna, Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola; together with the territories of Goritz and Istria. In Bohemia, they were to retain the Circle of Montabaz, with the whole space eastward from Tabor to Lintz; and

to hold that extensive tract until the conclusion of a definite peace, or the rupture of the negotiations; in which case, it was also stipulated; that hostilities should not recommence within fourteen days, and then that the cessation of the armistice should be announced to the plenipotentiaries at the head of their respective armies. It was also stipulated, that the Russian forces should evacuate the Austrian states, Moravia, and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Galicia within a month; and that the routes should be prescribed to the Russian army; that there should be no levy or insurrection in Hungary, nor any extraordinary raising of troops in Bohemia; nor that any foreign army should be permitted to enter the territory of the House of Austria: finally, it was stipulated, that negotiators from both powers should meet at Nicolsburg to negotiate a treaty, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace. This agreement between the French and Austrians made it necessary for the Russian army to commence its retreat, under very distressing circumstances, on the 6th of December; at a period when the English capital resounded with praises of Russian valour, and the no less heroic deeds of its magnanimous Emperor; while the French were represented as defeated, discouraged, and even doubtful as to being able to effect a safe retreat to France!

Though the allies had suffered so signal a defeat on the 2d of December, the corps of 20,000 men, under Archduke Ferdinand, was still left entire in Bohemia; and, before intelligence could reach him of the conclusion of the armistice, he had attacked a corps of Bavarians, under General Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army. About the same time, the Archduke Charles made his appearance from Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, with his forces on the right bank of the Danube; which made it appear, for a short time, that, if the Emperor Francis had not been so precipitate in concluding a treaty with the French, the fortune of war might have taken a favourable turn: it

was even said, that the Archduke Charles was mortified in the highest degree when he first heard of the treaty : but it was not taken into the account, that the Archduke himself, unable to make head against Massena in Italy, was then in full flight, with another victorious army close at his heels !

Among the consequences of this extraordinary campaign, it was generally acknowledged ; “ that it had established the predominance of France upon the continent ; and that the battle of Austerlitz ; or, as it had been more familiarly denominated, ‘ The Battle of the Three Emperors,’ had, in its issue, confounded all speculation.” It was admitted that the vast aggrandizement of the French nation within a few short years, which placed every period of its former exaltation in a secondary point of view, was an alarming prospect : that the dominion of Charlemagne, carried with it the seeds of its own dissolution, while limits had been prescribed to the ambition of Louis XIV. ; but that no talents, no power, no combination, in opposition to Bonaparte, seemed calculated to check his progress, but, on the contrary, served, in their effects, to swell his career with fresh victories, and add to his strength by increasing conquests ; in short, that his wisdom in council, greatness of enterprise, and promptness in action, put it almost out of the course of things that he should ever be visited with a reverse of fortune !\*

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\* Upon Napoleon’s return to the capital, after having arranged the preliminaries of peace between France and Austria, in 1797, prior to the Egyptian expedition, and at the termination of two celebrated campaigns, he was accompanied by no parade whatever ; he had the simple equipage of a private gentleman, and was attended only by his secretary and an aide-de-camp. Again ; on his return to Paris after the battle of Marengo, he arrived there so early in the morning as to disappoint the expectations of those who had waited some days to go out and meet him.

After this still more extraordinary campaign in Germany, which terminated with the victory of Austerlitz, he pursued the same course : he entered Paris in the night to avoid all parade ; and when the mayor and commune of Paris, in their congratulatory address on his return, expressed a wish that he would have given them an opportunity of

The Emperor received the deputation from the mayors of Paris, presented by Prince Murat. The mayor of the 7th circle made a speech, when the Emperor answered, "That he saw the deputation with pleasure; and that, notwithstanding he received them in the palace of Maria Theresa, still the day when he should again find himself in the midst of his good citizens of Paris would be to him a real festival. He said, he had had an opportunity of a near view of the calamities of war, and that, from the picture which presented itself, he was persuaded, that the laws relative to the conscripts should be considered as the most wholesome and sacred, unless they desired to witness the devastation of their habitations." He added, that he wished for peace, but such a peace as would secure the welfare of the French people. His Majesty then informed the deputies of his intention to present the colours taken in the battle, on the anniversary of his coronation, to the cathedral of Paris; and that he meant to entrust those trophies in their hands, in order that they might be delivered to the Cardinal Archbishop.

Napoleon reviewed the divisions of the carabineers and cuirassiers of the Generals Hautpoult and Nansouty, on the 22d of December. His Majesty afterwards expressed his satisfaction respecting the good condition of those brave regiments, which had given him such proofs of courage in the course of the campaign, and in the battle of Austerlitz in particular.—On the following day, his Majesty reviewed the division of Vandamme, and ordered Marshal Soult to inform them, that he was satisfied in

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testifying their gratitude for the services he had rendered his country, by receiving him with due demonstrations of joy; he made the following memorable reply:—"Had I been defeated, I would have made a public entry, that, by the manner in which I was received by my good citizens of Paris, my enemies might have been convinced that the attachment which they have always shown me, was not confined to my fortune: though vanquished, they would still consider their cause and mine as inseparably united:—returning a victor, I would not hazard their being accused of servile adulation."

seeing them so numerous, and in such good condition, after the battle of Austerlitz, as they had there acquired so much glory, and most essentially contributed to the success of that day.—When he came to the first regiment of the line, which commenced the battle and lost its standard, the Emperor said,—“Soldiers, what have you done with the eagle I gave you? You had sworn it should serve you as a rallying point, and that you would defend it at the peril of your lives; why have you not fulfilled your promise?” The major answered, “that the ensign being killed in a charge, when the battle was at the hottest, no person had perceived the loss in the midst of the smoke; however, the division then made a movement to the right; that the battalion had supported such manoeuvre and that it was a long time before the men were informed of the loss of their eagle; that as a proof they had stood firm and had not been broken, they very shortly after overthrew two Russian battalions, and took two stands of colours, with which they meant to do homage to the Emperor, hoping, by that means, to merit another eagle. Napoleon, after a short pause, said, “Officers and soldiers, swear that none of you were witnesses to the loss of your eagle; and that, if you had seen it, you would have precipitated yourselves upon the enemy to retake it, or have perished upon the spot; for a soldier who forfeits his colours loses every thing.” Instantly a thousand arms were raised; “We swear it: and we swear also to defend the eagle you will give us with the same intrepidity with which we captured the enemy’s colours which we now present to you.” “In that case,” said the Emperor, smiling, “I shall return you your eagle.”

*Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon previous to his Departure from Schoenbrunn, dated December 27, 1805.*

SOLDIERS,—Peace between me and the Emperor of Austria is signed. You have, in this late season of the year, made two campaigns. You have performed every



thing I expected from you. I am setting out to return to my capital. I have promoted and distributed rewards to those who have distinguished themselves most. I will perform to you every thing I have promised. You have seen that your Emperor has shared with you all dangers and fatigues; you shall likewise behold him surrounded with all that grandeur and splendour which become the sovereign of the first nation in the world. In the beginning of the month of May, I will give a grand festival at Paris; you shall all be present; and it will then be manifest whether or not we are summoned by the happiness of our country, and the *interest of our glory*. — *Soldiers*, during the three months, which are necessary to effect your return to France, prove the example for all armies: you have now to give testimonies, not of courage and intrepidity, but of strict discipline. May my allies have no more to complain of your behaviour. Conduct yourselves, on your arrival in that sacred territory, like children in the bosom of their family: my people will conduct themselves towards you as they must do towards their heroes and their defenders. — *Soldiers*, the thought that I shall see you all, in less than half a year, assembled round my palace, is gratifying to my heart; and I feel, beforehand, the most delightful emotions. We will celebrate the memory of those who, in these two campaigns, have fallen in the field of honour. The world shall see that we are ready to follow their example; and, if necessary, to do still more than we have already compassed against those who attack our honour, or suffer themselves to be misled by the gold of the eternal enemy of the continent.

(Signed)

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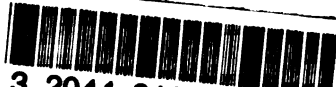
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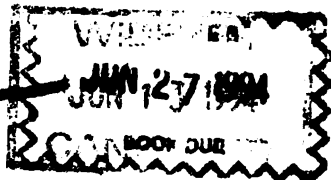
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